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Missionary Approach to Pagans

6. MISSIONARY ADAPTATION

From the earliest times of the Church up to the present we have numerous examples, as well as official directives, illustrating the meaning of adaptation as a basic principle of Catholic missionary activity. There are also some tragic missionary failures which demonstrate the cost of forgetting this principle. These, together with one or two other reflections, are here offered to supplement the partial answer already given to the practical question of missionary method: How should missionaries go about the evangelization of pagan tribes?

The particular urgency of this problem of missionary adaptation comes home to us more and more dramatically as we reflect upon the experiences of the past three hundred years since the Jesuit missionaries in China and India first raised the question of adapted rites. *Must Christianity be presented to "all nations" in a European suit of cloths; as part of the paraphanalia of Western Civilization; as, in fact, the tribal religion of "Homo Occidentalis Mechanicus"?* The Seventeenth Century's affirmative answer to this question, with its disastrous sequel in Asia, haunts us still.

Even here on African soil a characteristically European Christianity, with all the accidentals which accrued to it during twelve centuries of European growth, has been merely transplanted. Has it really taken root? Statistics aside, for these prove nothing in this matter of the minds and hearts of men, has the Church become indigenous in Africa? African Christians, for the most part, appear to have had their cultural roots cut from under them. How much of this cutting is the work of missionaries who should have been grafting? Ashamed of his cultural heritage, the average African Christian appears to be slavishly imitating, often without comprehension, the styles, manners, and customs of white men whose very presence he resents with ever increasing consciousness. The missionary who dares to suggest according to the

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clear directives of Rome and the lessons of Church History, an incorporation of African cultural forms into Christian Worship and education, is apt to meet with the resistance of his own African Christians who see in this suggestion only a cleverly disguised attempt to "hold them back". Too many Africans have already been convinced that the culture of their fathers is without value. This is the greatest tragedy of Africa today.

When these same Africans begin to see the futility of despising their own heritage, then they will join the ever growing chorus of nationalists who are already pointing to the missions as foreign institutions which have been working deliberately to destroy indigenous styles, manners, and customs. The burden of proof now rests with the missionary to demonstrate, not in theory but in practice, that Christianity is truly catholic, and not merely a foreign religion supplanting indigenous African cultural and transforming African communities into spiritual colonies of Europe. Fair warning has been given to us in one of the carefully worded resolutions of the Fifth Pan-African Congress, which identified "organized" Christianity with the "political and economic exploitation of African people by alien powers."

The eleventh hour has struck for the naive Christian Mission with its European aspect of imported melodies, cotton frocks, foreign languages, and un-intelligible worship. Where is the incarnation of the essence of Christianity in African cultures? If it is true that there is no real salvation of nations without incarnation, then the mission which is not built upon the rock foundations of indigenous culture, is resting on foundations of sand. Perhaps this is why so much of what we see around us appears, at best, ambiguous — in part horrible, and in part comic.

The idea of missionary adaptation is contained in the denotation of the very word by which our Faith is designated — Catholic. Its deepest justification and expression is the Incarnation wherein God, far from despising the limitations of human nature in general and of the Jewish culture in particular, deigned to save the world through man and his wretched little ways of doing things. This is the archetype of all missionary adaptation. As Cardinal Suhard stated it: "Adaptation does not mean accommodation, or systematically substituting the 'new' for the 'old', still less mutilation of the Church's message, but solely an integral and intelligent 'Incarnation' of that message in the actual state of things we have to change" (1). Saint Paul expressed this in the well known words: "All things to all men." Saint Thomas Aquinas formulated it in the concise philosophical terms: "The mover must be adapted to the thing to be moved."

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(1) *The Church Today*, (Fides, Chicago: 1953) p. 146.

The first missionary to make use of this method of adaptation was Saint Paul. He spoke to the Greeks in their own terms, borrowing the word "conscience" from the Stoic philosophers and the word "mystery" from the pagan cults. He used the un-known god of the pagans as common ground for theological discussion with the pagans. In preaching to the people of Athens he used no invective against their polytheism, and he based his argument on the words of a heathen poet. If we read the Acts of the Apostles and the early Pauline Letters, with this problem of adaptation in mind, we see what a hard fight the Apostle had in defending the cultural freedom of his gentile converts against those who thought that, because the Church was born in a Jewish culture, all Christians should conform to certain Jewish customs and ways of thought.

Had these Judaizing opponents of Saint Paul been successful, it is very likely that the conversion of the Hellenic World would have been nipped in the bud, just as the evangelization of China in the Seventeenth Century was fatally arrested when the opponents of adaptation were victorious over the followers of Father Matteo Ricci. Recall also the unhappy consequences of the dispute over the Malabar Rites in India. The sanguinary death of the infant Church in Japan was another of these calamitous historical events which were largely due to the fact that Christians were regarded as the followers of a foreign cult and harmful to national traditions.

Certain official directives of the Church in recent years indicate that, while there are no longer any Judaizing missionaries in the Catholic Church, there still remain some Westernizing missionaries — those who think that, because the Church grew so well in a European culture, all modern converts from paganism should conform to certain European customs, styles, manners, and ways of thought.

This is a dangerous kind of vanity which suggests that the plenitude of the human vocation is best attained within the framework of an imported European Civilization, and that the local culture into which a man is born — the culture which gave dignity and an integrated human personality to his father — should be cast aside. The Church has a much more enlightened and respectful attitude in this matter than many of her missionaries who have too often acted on the basis of that unreasoned prejudice which anthropologists call "culture-blindness". However dimly perceptable to European eyes, the missionary must learn to see, to value, and to use the ineluctable potency, beauty, and harmony of indigenous cultures which have resulted from different, but no less valid, human experiences. If the missionary is unable to transcend the limitations and the cultural-conditioning imposed upon him by his own national origins, then both his personality and his work will lack

the indispensable catholic quality without which there is no incarnation and no real salvation of nations.

It is in the directives of the Holy See that we find clear and official formulation of the principle of adaptation. Even as recently as 1951 it was found necessary to remind all missionaries of this principle:

> "...Let not the Gospel on being introduced to a new land destroy or extinguish whatever its people possess that is naturally good, just or beautiful... By no means has she (the Church) repressed native customs and traditions, but has given them a certain religious significance; she has even transformed their feast days and made them serve to commemorate the martyrs and to celebrate the mysteries of the faith... Whatever is in native customs that is not *inseparably bound up* with superstition and error will always receive kindly consideration and, whenever possible, *be preserved intact*" (2).

In these words Pope Pius XII was re-stating what he had already said in his very first Encyclical Letter *"Summi Pontificatus"*, and what his predecessors had said many times before. It is of interest to note also that one of the earliest instructions of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith pertains to this principle:

> "Never try, never in any way demand of your people that they should alter their customs, rites, and manners, so long, at any rate, as they are not *clearly contrary* to religion and morality... Never compare the customs you find with the customs you have left behind in Europe; rather must you, with all diligence, accustom yourselves to the new manner of your new people... *Nothing so provokes hate and aversion as the overthrow of a country's customs,* especially when these customs are immemorial ones handed down from father to son; *it is worse still, when you have overthrown these customs, to replace them with your own*" (3).

The conversion of a pagan, therefore, does not demand that he should abandon his traditional styles, manners, and customs, however unusual or even shocking these may appear to Europeans. On the contrary, his usages and customs, wherever possible, should be *encouraged, sponsored,* and *developed* (4). Such is the mind of the Church. Consider, for example, the matter of dress and ornaments. Trousers, to take one of the more obvious things too often associated with conversion to Christianity, have nothing whatsoever to do with Christ's message. In fact, trousers first made their appearance in the Roman Empire from the West at about the same time that Christianity was arriving from the East.

(2) *Evangelii Praecones*, par. 56, 58, 59.

(3) *Collect. Prop. Fide*, vol I, p. 42.

(4) *Summi Pontificatus*, Aas, xxx. 1939, 548f.

Why has this notable symbol of Europeanization become an almost indispensable condition for entrance into our mission churches?

Modesty is a virtue relatively conditioned by culture, so this cannot be the reason why Africans put on the clothing of the Arctic and Temperate Zones when they go to church. In certain African tribes, the pagan women in their goat-skin attire are far more modestly clad than their Christian counterparts in European style dress. Anyway, it is not a Catholic idea but a Protestant one that a covered body, like a clean one, is essential to good morals. In fact the theories of anthropologists suggest that clothing is as much a danger to good morals as the lack of clothing. Clothing has always been styled more to accentuate sexual differences and attract attention than to cover the body and promote modesty.

More things than indigenous styles and aesthetic concepts have suffered from the unenlightened zeal of our Westernizing missionaries. Some have convinced themselves that African tribal initiation ceremonies should be dispensed with by all converts to Christianity. Why? Have these "immemorial" ceremonies, "handed down from father to son", suddenly ceased to have profound psychological and social significance for Africans wearing trousers? Have the missionaries made an exhaustive study of the practices in question, and arrived at the certain conclusion that these particular customs are "inseparably bound up wih superstition" or "clearly contrary to religion and morality?" After years of forbidding a circumcision initiation-ceremony in one African mission, it was discovered that all the un-initiated were regarded as physical and social minors without full legal rights and without any voice in the councils of the tribe. Imagine the compromised position of the Church and the psychological state of the few unhappy Christians until the ban on the initiation-ceremony was lifted by a higher ecclesiastical authority who was more enlightened than the missionary on the spot (5). And where is the attempt at relating the tribal initiation ceremonies to the Christian initiation ceremonies of Baptism or Confirmation?

Adaptation is not limited merely to clothing, ornaments, languages and social customs; it applies with equal validity to pagan religious practices. Any religion which is not utterly contaminated by sin is an object of God's Providence, and an instrument of orientation towards Him. "The rulers of the Church from early times," wrote Cardinal Newman, "were prepared, should the occasion arise, to adopt, imitate, or sanction the existing rites and customs of the populace." Is it no longer possible to take pagan words, names, and practices out of their pagan context and give them new Christian meaning? For a long

(5) *Initiation Théologique*, (Les Editions Du Cerf, Paris, 1954) vol. IV, p. 458.

time Newman tells us, the Church has been doing just this,

> "...confiding in the power of Christianity to resist the infection of evil, and to transmute the very instruments and appendages of demon-worship to an evangelical use, and feeling also that these usages had originally come from primitive revelations and from the instinct of nature, though they had been corrupted; and that they must invent what they need, if they did not use what they found..... The use of temples, and these dedicated to particular saints, and ornamented on occasion with branches of trees; incense lamps and candles; votive offerings on recovery from illness; holy water; asylums; holy-days and seasons; use of calendars, processions, blessings on the fields; sacerdotal vestments, the tonsure, the ring in marriage, turning to the East, images at a later date, perhaps the ecclesiastical chant, and the Kyrie Eleison, are all of pagan origin, and sanctified by their adoption into the Church" (6).

The first missionaries in England understood all of this: with bonfires in the Spring of each year the pagan Saxons used to celebrate the feast of the goddess Ostara. The missionaries transformed this feast to commemorate the Resurrection, retaining even the bonfires and the name from which is derived the English word Easter and the German word Ostern. It was to these missionaries that Pope Saint Gregory the Great directed a famous letter in which he told them that, far from destroying the pagan temples, they should purify them by handing them over to the true God. And he added, since the savage Anglo-Saxons are so fond of public festivals, they should be encouraged on liturgical feast days to bring their beasts to the church; there slaughter them, roast them and eat them beside the church (7). Imagine what might happen if a modern missionary in Africa were to invite all the neighborhood pagans to have their circumcision dance and feast beside the church on the First of January.

Look at what Saint Benedict did when he arrived at Monte Cassino and found the peasants there still honoring Apollo. He did not destroy what he found, but he transformed the pagan temple into a shrine in honour of Saint Martin, an attractive and virile Saint. Where the altar of Apollo had been he constructed an oratory in honour of another handsome Christian hero, Saint John. These two saints, having so much in common with Apollo, led the people gently from paganism to Christianity. More than mere coincidence may also be seen in the facts that one of the earliest churches in honour of the Blessed

(6) *On the Development of Christian Doctrine* (London, 1920) p. 371 — 373.

(7) PATR. LAT., 77, 1215, 1187.

Virgin rose at Ephesus on the site of the famous temple of Diana, and that in this same city in 431 an Ecumenical Council was held which first officially designated Mary the Mother of God.

A more recent example of adaptation, in which a non-Christian rite was retained and endowed with a new Christian significance, is the Chinese family practice of making three "kowtows" or prostrations in honour of the ancestors on the Eve of the Chinese New Year. Sister M. Juliana of Maryknoll described what was done in one of the missions in Manchuria:

> "In pagan homes it is the custom of the seniors of the family to sit in a place of honour, then each member of the family kneels before them and, bending over, touches his forehead to the floor three times, rising and kneeling again to repeat the prostration three times. For Christian families our mission held a special holy hours service on the Eve of the Chinese New Year. During this service the Blessed Sacrament was exposed, with proper hymns and ceremonies; at a certain time a signal was given for all present to rise, kneel, and "kowtow", touching the forehead to the ground three times before the Blessed Sacrament. The ceremony was beautiful and moving, and it satisfied the people's devotion as well as their cultural needs at the time of the Chinese New Year" (8).

(8) *Conference of Mission Specialists at Fordham University*, 1956, p. 31.

There are many more ways in which Christian worship might be more directly related to indigenous customs and attitudes (9). While our Western Catholic liturgical forms were derived from the Judaic Liturgy, they have nevertheless become imbued with such qualities of discretion and moderation that they are today a style of worship which is properly and distinctly of Western Civilization, so sober, so inward, so discreet, so reserved, so very well adapted to Western cultures. But these forms do not belong to the essence of Christianity. They are accidental accretions without which it is still possible to worship God validly. It is possible that some day, when African cultures have become also Christian cultures, that there may be a return to the sacred dance as a Christian Liturgical form which is foreign to Western Christianity, but nevertheless a beautiful means of praising God with man's whole body and soul, as King David danced before the Ark.

Dancing is certainly the most expressive and popular art of the African. It is an integral part of his life; and everyone, from the youngest to the oldest, is ever ready and able to burst into song and dance at any joyous occasion. Why not turn this art form fully to the glory of God? In his book HEROIC SPAIN, E. Boyle O'Reilly describes some very spirited dancing (castanets and all) in the

(9) The logical first step would appear to be a more general use of vernacular languages in our Liturgy.

Cathedral of Saville, with the Archbishop presiding, on December 8th, in commemoration of the Christian army's entry into the conquered Moslem town over six hundred years ago, when the children of the town danced and sang for joy. If something like this can be done to commemorate a military victory, why should it not be done just for the glory of God? Pope Saint Gregory the Great said that the pagan temples should be turned over to the worship of the true God. What could be more beautiful than a thousand new Temples of the Holy Ghost dancing to the honour and glory of the Father and the Son? There is still some hope for the future. Motion picture films taken at the Eucharistic Congress in Kumasi show people dancing in the procession of the Blessed Sacrament. Soon they may be able to dance themselves right into God's House and into our Christian Liturgical forms.

Too often, however, we find missionaries simply forbidding Christian participation in genuine African dances which they contemptuously dismiss with the vague and general term: "pagan dances". Are European dances Christian? The pagans themselves are often shocked on first learning of these European dances in which young men and young women are permitted to embrace one another in public. Who is to decide which dances, if any, are more of an occasion of sin? Decisions should not be made frivolously regarding so indispensable a part of African life as the dance. The decision of the missionary commits the Church and Her future in the particular locality, so his decision should be made with deliberation, circumspection, and sympathy. Hasty or ill-informed condemnations involve the very real danger of burning the wheat with the cockle.

The account of the LIBATION AND THE FIRST COMMANDMENT (A.E.R., vol. I, p. 160) is a model of the intelligent and tolerant approach which missionaries should have toward all indigenous practices, including the so-called "pagan dance". It should also be recognized that pagan informants are often more objective and reliable than Christians who are apt to be both ill-informed and self-conscious about the remnants of their "pagan" and "primitive" past.

"In India", according to Bishop Ferrando of Assam, "one of the greatest accusations which has been brought against the Christian missions is that the Christian missionary's work among the tribes, among the aborigines, has destroyed their folklore, their songs and dances." The Bishop went on to say that this accusation was **not true** of the **Catholic** missions, and he explained his own very tolerant and catholic attitude towards dances which go on all night with the merciless beating of drums. However, he added this ominous and revealing comment: "Some of the missionaries thought that we ought to forbid these

things because they are pagan" (10).

The Church has pointed the way both in theory and in practice. The real work of adaptation, of of incarnation, belongs to the missionary who is sent, not to save isolated individual souls, but to save men and nations through the establishment of an indigenous Church within the very cultural and historical context in which the people are involved with their bodies and their souls. We will all do well to heed the plea of John Collier, former U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs: "Colonizer, missionary, moralist, idealist, crusader for causes, it is to the heart of all that you love, to the defeat of your own purpose and the ruin of men, if you, plunging toward your aim in terms of individuals, aggregates of individuals, or external material results, ignorantly or impatiently by-pass the society" (11).

THE END

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(10) *Conference of Mission Specialists at Fordham University*, 1956, p. 45.

(11) *Indians of the Americas* (New York, Mentor; 1956) p. 78.

NEITHER THE CHURCH nor the State can prosper unless family life is sound, and here I mean soundness mainly in the moral order, though everything should be done to give the family a minimum of material well-being. To build up a healthy society in Africa, we must take care of the family. Africans appreciate whatever is done for the family. They have a great love of their families. African Society in its very structure is built on the family, and there is a great respect among Africans for authority in the family. But while maintaining this strong sense of attachment to kith and kin, we must emphasize the Christian concept of family life so that it is honoured in practice. To mention but one important point in this connection, the sense of parental responsibility required by both the natural law and the Christian law, should be developed.

LAUREANO CARDINAL RUGAMBWA.

CASUS CONSCIENTIAE

One day Father John, superior of a mission station where are many Protestants, learns that one of his neighbours, an honest and sincere Lutheran, is very seriously ill. The pastors hardly ever prepare their adherents for death and Father John feels it his duty to visit the sick man and do all in his power to help him die a good death. He is well received, but it soon appears that, although ready to listen to the priest's exhortations and tentative approaches, the sick man is in no way prepared to abjure his errors. What can Father John do for him in such circumstances?

Another day a very grave accident takes place not far from the mission and among the victims dying or already apparently dead are a few strangers and also a Protestant well known for his anti-Catholic feelings. Father John rushes immediately to the scene of the accident and gives all of them conditional baptism, absolution and extreme unction. Has he done well?

Solution

I. PRINCIPLES.

Sometimes a sacrament may be for a person practically the only means of receiving sanctifying grace when he lacks it, and so may be absolutely necessary for his salvation. Such is the case with baptism for a dying unbaptised infant. Likewise unconscious dying sinners stand in urgent need of absolution or extreme unction, or baptism if still unbaptised. But whereas on the part of a child or one who has always morally remained so, nothing else is required in an adult three dispositions are necessary: supernatural faith, sorrow for grave sins if any, and the intention to receive the sacrament. The former two regard only lawful and fruitful reception (except in penance), but the intention is always absolutely required for the validity of a sacrament. Habitual intention (once made, no longer influencing, but never revoked) is sufficient. It is also agreed that the will to become a Christian implicitly contains the desire of baptism (not baptism of desire, i.e perfect love of God, perfect contrition!). It is doubtful whether the general wish of doing what God requires for salvation, implicit in true contrition or attrition, suffices. Under normal

circumstances we must in such cases first obtain from the recipient an explicit expression of his intention. If that is impossible, we may exceptionally, and especially in danger of death, be content with only probable indications as to the presence of the required intention, and we must then confer the sacrament conditionally so as to avoid irreverence towards the sacrament. Even a slight positive probability is then sufficient, for "in extremis extrema tentanda sunt." Whether or not in such a case the sacrament was in fact validly conferred, only God knows, but we shall at least have done what was humanly possible and allowed. And as regards the fruitfulness, this depends on the actual existence of the proper dispositions in the subject and we must not forget the possibility of eventual reviviscence.

Let us now take the principles governing the administration of the Sacraments to heretics. We must distinguish here between those who are in good health and those who are in danger of death, either still in possession of their senses or already unconscious.

1° Outside danger of death.

If a heretic or schismatic is obviously in bad faith, i.e. if he has against faith and is still inpenitent and contumacious, he is of course unworthy of the sacraments. He committed a grave sin directly must be treated as a public sinner and first abjure his errors, be reconciled with the church, and repair or promise to repair the scandal given, before he may receive them. This is principally the case with lapsed Catholics who have fallen into schism (practically the same as heresy since the Vatican Council) or heresy.

The case would however seem quite different when we have to deal with material heretics, i.e those presumed heretics in the external forum, but in fact in good faith, — and we may say that most Protestants with whom we come in contact are such. If so they have the virtue of faith and believe in all God has revealed, though invincibly in error about one or more dogmas. They may well be in the state of grace or have sorrow for their sins. Still, even though they might then receive them fruitfully, they are excluded from the sacraments by positive law, can. 731,2, since they are separated from the visible church, which according to Christ's wishes, dispenses her sacraments only to her members. Scandal too would result, since people would be apt to say that Protestantism was not so bad after all, since its adherents might receive the sacraments. So under normal circumstances Protestants are excluded from reception of the sacraments. (1)

(1) n.l. We do not speak here of catholics who are merely material heretics, and not publicly, and without any contumacy. And even lapsed catholics who are formal heretics, must be given the sacraments when they publicly ask for them in a place where their crime is not known. Perhaps children of Protestants under 14 years of age (not yet presumed to be heretics in the external forum) might receive them in the absence of scandal and if it is foreseen that they will grow up as catholics, should they ask for them.

2° In danger of death.

a) if the heretic is *unconscious*, many serious moralists admit that, in the absence of scandal, he may always be conditionally absolved and anointed (after previous conditional re-baptism if necessary). In practice it does not make any difference if the person, while conscious, was in good or bad faith: his *actual* dispositions must be considered, and, as Cappello (De Ext. Unct. 263) says:— impenitence and contumacy will in practice hardly ever be verified with sufficient certitude in an unconscious dying sinner. Whatever the foundation of the ever so slight probability that the required intention exists, it is safe in practice to give to all unconscious dying people, whatever their previous dispositions, all three sacraments: baptism (if not certainly received already), penance and extreme unction (unless certainly unbaptized) provided always that scandal be avoided (2).

And that holds for pagans, moslems, protestants, public sinners, even unbelieving or in bad faith and refusing the priest's help up to the last moment before unconsciousness, dying in the act of sin etc.: *All dying unconscious persons may be given, remoto scandalo, all the necessary sacraments they can receive, at least conditionally: "si capax es".*

Must we give them the sacraments? Baptism must conditionally be given, if the now dying unconscious person has in any probable way manifested his desire to recieve it (can. 752.) In further doubt there seems to be no strict obligation, but charity pushes us to do for a dying person the most we are allowed prudently to do. As regards extreme unction, in view of can. 942, the obligation to anoint a person who up to the last moment has positively remained impenitent is still less; yet it may be done. And we should note here that conditional extreme unction has a much greater chance of being effective than simple conditional absolution: not only because it is more probably necessary in penance to externalise the 'materia ex qua sacramenti', but also in view of eventual reviviscence.

b) If a heretic is still *conscious*, several good authors (3) hold that

(2) n. 2. Foundations alleged for the probable judgment on the part of the minister that the dying man has sufficient intention: former sorrow for sins, desire to do in all things the will of God who rewards good and punishes evil, prevailing intention to save one's soul by all means etc. Even extrinsic facts: the salvific will of God, the probable dispositions of many non-catholics, impeded by external circumstances but secretly wishing to become Christians: the presence of a priest etc. Even if his sect rejects extreme unction, the individual may still have sufficient, at least prevailing, intention to receive it. All this leads to at least "tenuissa probabilitas" (Génicot), "prudens conjectura" (Vermeersch) etc. The Holy Office (17 May 1916) says, as regards unconscious dying schismatics: "especially if there is reasonable ground to conjecture that they have at least implicitly rejected their errors, they may receive extreme unction in the absence of scandal." NB "especially.": not "exclusively", not unless there is reasonable ground... For further study, see The Jurist Oct. 1953 p. 357-380 (Danagher): Theol. Studies Sept. 1958 p. 374-394 (Dailey) and passim; Clergy Review, March '57, p. 168-170: Clergy Monthly 1955, pp. 225-229 (Génicot); De Reeper "Sacraments on the Missions" p. 44,441-444.

(3) n. 3. Regatillo, Vermeersch, Cappello, orio, Coronata et alii, mentioned in "Revue du Clergé African," March '54, and "The Jurist," Oct. '53.

absolution and extreme unction may be given conditionally, if the dying person is sorry for his sins and prepared to do all that is required by God for his salvation *and* if nothing more can prudently (considering person and circumstances) be obtained, without fear of troubling his good faith, if he were explicitly asked to make an abjuration. Explicit rejection of his error is therefore not strictly required, but only if morally possible. Sincere regret of sin includes the resolution to do God's will in all things, and contains the implicit reconciliation with the church as demanded by the Holy Office in such a case. A prudent attempt must, however, be made, if it is foreseen that the heretic might be persuaded to abjure, and then he may be absolved and anointed absolutely — also whenever he asks directly for those sacraments. Effective steps must be taken to remove scandal suspicion of interconfessionalism by appropriate explanation to bystanders or secret giving of absolution (per se audible to the priest only) and extreme unction (one unction with general formula). Real danger of true scandal or other grave harm, not compensated by the obvious and great benefit of the dying person, must always be avoided. (4) Of course, if such assistance were likely to cause general resentment and opposition, it might be better for the priest to observe the commonly accepted limits of his pastoral obligations, and just inspire perfect contrition by a few well-chosen words from the heart.

Conclusion: Charity demands that for a dying heretic we should do all we possibly can. There is an obligation of justice for a pastor only towards Catholics and those who want to become Catholics. The obligation from charity towards other persons, who are in a state of spiritual necessity, exists only in respect of those means by which they can certainly be helped in their hour of need. Hence before all else, one should strive to excite in them the necessary acts of faith, hope, charity and contrition, and if possible a retractation of error. We must sedulously inspire such zeal for souls in dispensers and infirmarians, especially where the priest cannot reach non-catholics. If those dispositions are present, with the will to receive the sacraments, or at least implicit intention, charity obliges the priest to confer them. In doubt, charity requires further efforts to arouse the proper dispositions. If the doubt remains, it does not seem that one can establish a certain strict obligation of administering the sacraments to non-catholics, but a zealous priest should go to them with the intention of doing for them, not the least, but the most that sound theological principles will permit. Often too little is done for our separated brethren who need it perhaps more

(4) As regards the other Sacraments, see "The Jurist" ibid. It should be noted that, with regard to matrimony, it is not required that convalidation of an invalid marriage take place before giving the last sacraments, as long as the recipient is sorry for his sins and is disposed to arrange his situation as soon as possible.

(and are perhaps greater friends of God) than many of our Christians. Especially we must not let them die without any help just because they do not belong to our flock, and wash our hands of it if their own pastors do not assist them in their last moments.

What the H.O. (29/10/41) says about schismatics applies to all non-catholics, "Let the catholic priest, with generous charity, endeavour to bring back to the church those schismatics whom ordinaries and pastors are bidden to regard as *especially* commended to them in the Lord (can.1350,1). He should paternally visit the sick and especially if they are in danger of death, exhort them to prayer, to contrition for their sins and submission to the will of God." That is the least we can and must do, but one easily sees how important it is to keep up friendly relations with our Protestant neighbours, to wish them well interiorly and exteriorly, and to do them good on all occasions, whatever harm some misguided individuals have done to us or to our work, whatever calumnies and bitterness some try to stir up. Then we shall have easy access to them, when they fall ill and need our spiritual assistance. Friendly visits to show our goodwill and sympathy will have prepared the way for grace to enter their hearts. Charity and not learning, bitter discussion or anything else has the key to all hearts — "omnia vincit" — and sooner or later must obtain its rewards, even if at first it is scorned or laughed at. And the result will be worth the effort. Of course we must hate heresy and schism, but we must greatly respect and sincerely love each and every Protestant as a brother in Christ and as a comrade in the common struggle against atheism in all its forms. So too we may have the joy of making our little contribution to the ultimate healing of the sad breach in Christendom.

II. **Ad Casum:**

1° Father John has done quite well in going to the assistance of his Protestant neighbour and in trying to prepare him for death by exciting him to regret his sins and do whatever God desires from him. When he saw that it would be imprudent to insist on an explicit retractation of his errors, he could, after at least a general confession of sinfulness give him absolution and extreme unction — "sub conditione," if he is not quite sure about the sick man's intention to receive them. If there was any doubt about his baptism, he should first of all rebaptise him conditionally. The excommunication, if incurred is taken away by the formula "ab omni vinculo excommunicationis." He must be careful to obviate all scandal in the best way possible. Whether or not the protestant receives ecclesiastical burial after death is of minor importance, as long as the soul is saved. If in concrete circumstances, the giving of sacraments would be really imprudent, in view

of the dying man's dispositions, or would stir up public resentment, he must at least move him to make an act of perfect contrition.

2° As regards the unknown persons Father John has done all right to give them conditional baptism, absolution, and extreme unction, if they are adults (for children, conditional baptism only). This goes for the protestant as well, unless his baptism was already certain. If they are all dying, it would be better to give first general absolution (Ego vos absolvo ab omnibus censuris et peccatis), then conditional baptism to each one and then extreme unction (a single unction for each). He then should give the apostolic blessing in the short form in the plural. It makes no practical difference if they are apparently dead. There seems to be no question of giving them Viaticum. Once he has done all this, he must try to prepare, to the best of his ability, those who are still conscious, to die in as perfect sentiments as possible, not forgetting that even seemingly unconscious persons may hear him and helped by him to greater regret of their sins and so to salvation.

E. DE BEKKER, W.F.

Casus Conscientiæ for next issue

PROFESSIONAL SECRET

One day Father James, pastor of an important parish, asked Dr. Paul whether a man whom he had sent to be examined, was really fit for marriage. Dr. Paul answered him: "Neither I nor any one on the hospital staff here can give you any information about our patients. I can only communicate the result of my examination to the patient himself. If you want to know it, just ask him." Fr. James was rather astonished: "I must know whether a person is fit for marriage, otherwise we often get no end of trouble afterwards. It is for the common good and that is why I refuse to bless any marriage in which the parties cannot show me a certificate of good health. I don't see why you are not allowed to inform me here, whereas you regularly send me the result when I have you examine boys or girls in view of their entry into the seminary or the religious life."

CONSULTATIONS

Fr. R. at R.

Can an altar be consecrated which consists of three slabs joined together and rests on four columns, two of which are fixed to the middle slab?

Of course the middle slab can be consecrated alone as a portable altar; the side slabs and supports then do not, strictly speaking, belong to the altar, that is the altar proper. To consecrate the whole as an immovable altar will not be possible; the slab of the table must be in one piece from end to end, and the consecration of several slabs joined together to make a whole would be doubtful. One might consider just the middle slab together with its two supports as the true altar and consecrate those parts alone; but this, though not invalid, would go against the obvious sense of can. 1198,2, and the responses of the S.C. Rit, 3640 and 3797. These demand that the table should not be surrounded by a frame of wood or even of marble (and of course cement).

Fr. de R. at O.

Can a member of a religious order, although not tonsured sometimes act as subdeacon during solemn Mass?

No, this is absolutely forbidden. A cleric in minor orders, or at least tonsured, may for a reasonable cause, act as subdeacon during Mass, but then without wearing the maniple and without performing certain specified actions, reserved to ordained subdeacons (S.C.Rit. 4181). Any non-tonsured person would act gravely illicitly, even if he observed those restrictions. He would incur an irregularity "ex delicto" only, if he both wore the maniple and performed the reserved actions (can.985,7°), unless he is in good faith (in the absence of mortal sin there is no delict.).

Fr. V. at M.

Are the time limits of one and three hours in the Eucharistic fast to be observed strictly and "sub gravi?"

Yes, and we must insist on it with our people. Although the Eucharistic fast itself has been considerably relaxed as regards the time element (and nowadays a "ratio excusans" can much more easily be admitted), the traditional view about the quality of the foods allowed and the

strict interpretation of the time limit as such have not changed. Some authors (Regatillo, Zalba, and a few others) who advocate a moral estimate ("about one or three hours") find little following, and those few who admit "parvitas materiæ" (no grave sin when only a discrepancy of a few minutes, and any reasonable cause would then be sufficient to excuse from all sin) cannot reason away the many great inconveniences of a general application of their opinion (perhaps not in an individual case in special circumstances judged with great prudence, cf. Theol. Studies, June 1959, p. 260). It should only be noted that in a case of insoluble doubt whether or not the *full* one or three hours required has (or have) elapsed, a person who has no watch etc. is not to be excluded from Holy Communion.

Fr. G. at S.

What sin is it to say Mass in less than twenty minutes?

The duration of Mass depends on several factors. It is quite possible, though rare perhaps, that a priest who is fast and precise in his movements, is gifted with good eyes and a glib tongue and who knows his Latin, can say Mass devoutly in twenty minutes or even a little less, especially now that requiem and ferial Masses have lost most of their commemorations and often have a very short formulary. But even then it often remains to be seen if such a quick celebration is in the best interests of his own spiritual life and the edification of the faithful. On the other hand deliberate slowness is not a virtue and may irritate the congregation. Others who are naturally slow, who read or pronounce with difficulty, will often need nearly half an hour, and would incur the danger of irreverence or scandal if they took less. The main point is not the question of time, but above all of the care, reverence and fervour with which the most important action of the day is performed, and here more than ever we should always aim at a maximum of each. We have all of us to react sometimes against routine and the tendency to be carried away, and we all know the means (would that we used them!): part of our morning meditation should always be related to the Mass we are about to celebrate; momentary reflection (without interrupting the "actio") is possible during Mass; inflection of the voice, reading intelligently, or other individually helpful devices may avail against too mechanical or precipitated a celebration. There will always remain enough obstacles on the human side: fatigue, "morning sickness", nervous irritability etc., which subjectively excuse the priest from sin. Anyhow, ample time should be taken out for daily Mass according to the needs of the individual priest who should also often examine his conscience regarding his own living faith and his appreciation of the divine sacrifice, being very exacting for himself and not too easily critical of others.

Fr. D. at N.

Some time ago I was told that the Rosary etc., is no longer to be said at Mass during the month of October. Is that true?

The October devotions, to be held in specified churches, either during benediction or during Mass, were prescribed by Leo XIII in 1885. The obligation was to continue as long as the very difficult times for the Church continued and as long as the Roman Pontiff had not recovered his full liberty. When therefore the Lateran Treaty in 1929 settled the Roman Question, several authors thought that the obligation ceased ipso facto. Others held that the Church was still greatly oppressed, or that it was up to the Ordinary to maintain or not the obligation. Liturgists objected to the recitation of the Rosary during Mass, but as Pius XII says in "Mediator Dei", the Rosary, if we meditate on the mysteries of Jesus Christ, does not necessarily distract the faithful from the Mass (AAS 39,561).

As regards *public* recitation however, section 31 of the Instruction on Sacred Music and Liturgy (Sept. 3rd, 1958) states that common prayers must harmonise with different parts of the Mass, and when Archbishop Heenan of Liverpool recently asked whether the public recitation of the Rosary is henceforth forbidden during Mass, even during the month of October, the answer of the Congregation of Rites was clear: "the Rosary is to be said at a time other than during Mass". Public recitation of the Rosary (or part of it) is therefore a "pious exercise" not comprised in the three ways of active participation of the faithful in the Mass as prescribed by the Instructios: silent individual prayers with missal or otherwise, common prayers or hymns but then adapted to the different parts of the Mass, or direct participation as for example in a dialogue Mass. The answer of the S.C. Rit., though private, is of universal application. (cf. Noldin I,135,3).

Fr. W. at M.

"In the A.E.R. of Jan. 1960, p. 23, Fr. Goor states as his opinion that for valid confirmation the Bishop should place his right hand on the confirmand's head, while he anoints the forehead with his thumb. The proof offered is the Rubric in the Pontifical under the title: 'Confirmatio uni tantum conferenda.' Please, now allow me to stress the omission of this same rubric (1) in the same Roman Pontifical under the title of the plural confirmation, and (2) in the "Canon" book. If a distinct touching of the head is really essential to validity, isn't it unpardonable that these two official books should, in successive editions, omit the required rubric?"

Originally the essential rite of confirmation consisted in the "impositio manus episcopi" in the natural and usual sense of the word. From the third century onwards the anointing was added to the extend-

ing of the hand over the head, and "we see everywhere in process a development which led to the rite of anointing, very probably ecclesiastical in its origin, taking the place of the apostolic rite of the imposition of hands" (A. d'Alès, "Baptism and Confirmation", London 1929, p. 151). Still, the vast majority of theologians continued to hold that the proximate matter of Confirmation consisted in the imposition of the hand, but now understood in the unusual and improper sense of touching the forehead with the thumb while anointing. (1) Therefore, they conclude, the use of an instrument would make the sacrament invalid or doubtful (cf. can. 781,2 and H.O. 14 Jan. 1885), although it is quite conceivable that the other three fingers touch the forehead at the same time or are stretched out over it.

The first time that a rubric appeared again, mentioning clearly the "impositio manus", as distinct from the act of anointing, was under Benedict XIII who, however, did not introduce it into the Pontifical, out of reverence for the traditional text, but only added it to a separate edition of the rites of baptism and confirmation. This same reason may have led the Church not to change as yet the text in the first part of the Pontifical. She does demand however nowadays a proper and distinct imposition of hand as prescribed in the Appendix of the Pontifical (since 1888) and in the Ritual (since 1925), since its obvious purpose is to show the continuity of the present rite with the apontolic rite; but does she do so also "ad validitatem"? Has she already reintroduced this relatively recent rite as essential matter of the sacrament, when for centuries it was not considered necessary?

Fr. Cappello, at least since 1945, answers in the affirmative and considers the sacrament otherwise invalidly or doubtfully conferred (De Sacr. I, 192), and Fr. Goor agrees with him. But it would seem that in such grave matter (of an essential change) Rome should first give an official pronouncement, or at least clearly insist on the new rite in the main body of the Pontifical, and until then one is quite free to disagree with Fr. Cappello, at least as regards validity.

E. DE B.

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(1) Hervé: Manuale Th. Dog. III, 622: "manus impositio non alia exigitur quam illa quæ unctionem comitatur et in ipsa *intrinsece* includitur."

Noldin III, 87: "Impositio ea intelligitur quæ ungendo fit. Eo ipso igitur quod Episcopus manu sua ungens tangit confirmandum, ei manum imponere censetur."

Galtier (Dict. Th. Cath. T. VII, col. 1393: "L'onction est-elle une imposition des mains?"): "Le Pape Innocent III écrit en 1204: Per frontis chrismationem manus impositio designatur, quæ alio nomine dicitur confirmatio..... L'onction qu'on se plaît à appeler une imposition des mains..."

Cf. also Fr. Jerôme in Clergy Monthy, Sept. 1945: "The Rite of Confirmation", Clergy Review, 1959, p. 108 and especially Ami du Clergé, 1947, p. 618-620 (inter alia: "Le geste serait assez difficile... s'il devait toucher réellement et physiquement la tête du confirmé, pendant que son pouce fait l'onction sur le front." Perhaps!)

Morals and Worship

For a few weeks some years ago everyone in England was discussing Mrs Knight's radio talks on *Morals without Religion*. General interest in the topic did not last long and was anyway for the most part, so far as I remember, of a rather negative kind. Yet I feel that Catholics at least should have been moved by her words not to counter-attack but to an examination of conscience. If now the bond linking morals with religion is denied, is that not largely because it has for long been gravely misunderstood, and that even by devout Christians?

The Catholic will of course firmly maintain that morality requires religion and that good citizenship, character building and self- expression, all very good in themselves, will never build up to an absolute or justify the 'categorical imperative'. But have we at all an adequate practical idea of just how morals and religion are bound together, or what religious morality really means? It seems to me that it is really we who must bear much of the responsibility for the divorce of religion from morality, and Mrs Knight's ideal of religionless morality is not just a personal fad or modern heresy; it is the predictable culmination of a process which has gone on within Christendom for centuries, developing originally within Catholic thought and then on in the mind of the Protestant reformers.

When we speak of religion in contrast with morality, it is often simply faith and creed that we have in mind, and there lies half the trouble. We forget that the heart of religion is to be found in worship, cult, the bowing down before the numinous. Creed without all this becomes psychologically no more than a set of principles, a theistic philosophy, and no moral system could hope to exist without a philosophy of some sort. Real religion enters the picture with worship and liturgy, the ordering of human life around visible acts of cult: the adoration of the living God. Religion in a comprehensive sense of course covers everything, and while centering on worship, it includes the faith which this manifests, morals, institution. If we are to justify our refusal to take morality out of this complex, we must show that it really belongs there, and needs to be there. Now what I want first to stress is that the heart of this specifically *religious* complex of things is public worship or liturgy: the explicit divine service of the religious community, embodying the invisible truths of the spiritual world in

visible ritual and re-enacted mystery.

But the complete worship of God certainly requires actuation also in the field of morals. Religious morals are truly God-centred; truth-telling and neighbour serving are the way to realising the will of God, and therefore morals look beyond man himself and his society and become a principal means of worshipping the author of man and society. Consequently in true religion there are always these two fundamental services of morality and cult — both of which man has psychologically the utmost need — but there is also an almost certain tension between them. In everything less than perfect religion they seem to pull different ways, and indeed in the fallen world they came almost entirely apart. In the old pagan religions cult was for the most part predominant, and morality sometimes hardly appeared at all. The deep impressive rituals searing onto the human soul the ageless myths of death and rebirth, the dark journey and the divine fellowship, were not sufficiently balanced by a day to day moral of do good and avoid evil. The mysteries in short offered their devotees religion rather than morality.

Greece, on the other hand, offered the world a morality which had lost its living religious roots: a philosophical morality, an ethic, whether Aristotelian, Platonist or Stoic. Reasonable, natural, humane, but not answering to the deepest yearnings of the unrefined soul. Platonism, of course, came nearest to doing so, but Platonism was not a living religion, only an enlightened philosophy able to appreciate the symbolism of the myths found in religion and poetry. In the ancient world there was no intergrated whole, nothing mature both in the line of morality and that of religion (1).

It is one of the supreme differences between Christ and the old gods, between the newness of the Gospel and the oldness of everything else to be found in the world when Jesus took bread and broke the sacrament of his body, to be broken itself hours later on Calvary, that Christianity was both liturgically and morally whole. Of course Judaism was already a religion of cult and morality, of temple and law and prophet, but the Old Testament synthesis remained incomplete. Its repetitive sacrifices were bloody but unavailing, its morals too earth-bound and particularist. Christianity surpassed all that, transmuting the frightening old commandments into the law of Christ's love: 'I have a new commandment to give you, that you are to love one another'; there was

1. Mr. C. S. Lewis treats in an imaginative and stimulating way of this clash in the ancient world between philosophical morality and sacrificial religion in his novel *Till We Have Faces* (Geoffrey Bles, 1956). On one side is the doctrine of the Land of Glome and the temple priest of the Goddess Ungit, on the other the Greek Stoic tutor named the Fox. But the higher synthesis with which the book seems to end was never attained in the pre-Christian world.

substituted for the blood offerings of Jerusalem, whose inadequacy the prophets had already pointed out, a clean oblation offered world-wide 'from sun's rise to sun's setting.' And this sacrifice is itself the love feast, the sacrament of unity; *agape* comes to name at once morals and ritual, and also the institutional Church herself (Roma: Amor) which is the assembly of those who, believing in the Love of God, practise it in their turn and represent both the sacrifice of the Lamb and their own fellowship in the one sacrament of love.

At the heart of Catholic Christianity and there only are morals and ritual wholly reconciled, for only the Incarnation could make visible ritual fully worthy of the Spirit. Unfortunately too often within the Christian community itself the poise of the complete truth has been disturbed, and men have turned to one side or another, to ritualism or to puritanism. For centuries the predominant trend has been to some form of the latter. Already in the Middle Ages law and works were taking too central and too self-justifying a place. The full meaning of the Eucharistic gathering was more and more forgotten, and the cult side of popular Christian life came to be satisfied in side-line developments which, while justified in themselves, were no substitute for common liturgy and communion. Devotion tended to become private and hot-house. In a religious world of legalism and *the devotio moderna the tremendous* genius of Luther burst like a thunderstorm after an oppressive day. Full of deep intuition, it was yet desperately unbalanced and quite unable to recover the original Christian sense of liturgy and morals. On the contrary, the two were thrust ever further apart. The Mass was rejected — no sacrifice but only communion; soon the Real Presence went too, together with five sacraments and the most part of the Church's ritual. In Geneva we find the new type of religion clearly established: the stern rule of moral law. And the further we go on the road of Protestantism, the less liturgy we find, and less sense too of the meaning of the Incarnation, of the Spirit dwelling in the flesh; instead there is the urge for pure spirit, pure morals, and no visible worship. It is the road to *Morals without religion*.

Tragically, faced with all this the Catholic Church was for long unable to recover the full sense of her faith and worship and moral law, and the union of them all. Dogma was rightly defined, the sacrifice of the Mass maintained, both faith and charity proclaimed necessary for justification; but we have had to wait until recent years for a return to the *whole* view of the Catholic thing. Our answers to Protestantism never went deep enough to effect the great return; on the contrary we followed further on the way of relegating liturgy to the masters of ceremony and concentrating on moral law — the vast development of moral theology —

and private devotions. We did not abandon our heritage, but we locked it up in an attic and hid the key. The ceremonies remained, the wealth of prayers and life-giving symbolism was still there, but enclosed within an icy wall of rubrics and beneath a roof of no longer understood Latin. They ceased to be the most central, most lived, most appreciated part of the religious life of the people of God. At long last we have begun again to understand: the liturgists have woken up after a deep sleep, the highest authority in the Church has restored in all its symbolic intensity the liturgical cycle of Christ's death and resurrection in Holy Week. Yet even now for the most part despite all the efforts of Pastoral Liturgy, the people (especially here in Africa) and the majority of priests remain uncomprehending of what it is all about. Moreover the enthusiasts of the revival themselves often do not probe deep enough. It is not sufficient to be agreed that the liturgy should make sense and be understood; we need to go much further into the whole round of consequences of the Incarnation, the inner relationship of Christian morality to Christian worship, the point of ritual.

In apologetics, in argument with Protestants, we talk so very much about the human need for outward signs on account of what man is: incarnate spirit. Pure spiritual religion, the Protestant ideal, is not sufficient for him. But how often our actions, our living, give the lie to our words. We teach doctrine and morality but with the dryness of catechism questions neglecting the symbolism which goes with them. In popular Eucharistic teaching too often only a very inadequate presentation of the dogmatic facts of Transubstantiation remains. The full symbolism of baptism is hardly explained, only the dogma of the remission of original sin and the infusion of sanctifying grace. Every Catholic takes holy water on entering and leaving Church, but is it not largely because of the indulgence attached to the practice?

Strangest of all, among Protestants and especially among Anglicans things are often considerably different. The Reformers could not destroy all cult. Their very work of cutting away left what remained more easily intelligible to the people. With a communion service and hymn singing there remains something of the act of communal adoration, the visible expression of invisible mysteries. Their heritage has been desperately impoverished, but what survives may be better appreciated. The Anglican Church of course has preserved far more; there Matins and Evensong, the basic round of the Christian year and much else besides, remain to ground the living of ordinary pious Anglicans in a public liturgy which still expresses the Christian's relationship to God.

For many Anglicans conversion to the Church is from this viewpoint a painful experience. They do not find with us that for which

we have always taught them to look: the effective use of the visible in the worship of the invisible. Our churches are full, while theirs may have dwindling congregations. But our churches are full of people attending Mass with the most inadequate idea of what is going on, and an almost complete incapacity to take part in it. They stand near the door, saying the rosary or doing nothing at all. Tragic as it must appear, Catholics are often the people who come nearest to practising morals without religion. A moral law which is understood to centre and find its meaning in sharing the sacrament of the altar is so very different from a moral law explained in terms of the ten commandments of the Old Testament given when law and liturgy were still untransformed by the reconciling death of Jesus. Yet modern Catholic morality seem sometimes to approximate more to that of the Old than of the New Alliance: it fails to be eucharistic. Based on the sure foundation of faith and the Church's authority, it does without anything beyond the minimum of participation in the new worship of the Christian people the royal priesthood and holy nation. Yet full religious participation in sacraments and liturgy which employ the symbols of the ages to represent the Christian mysteries is the only effective way to cleanse and divinise the human psyche and send it on its journey back homewards to the halls of the new Jerusalem, where dwells the living God.

And so it was perhaps for us that Mrs Knight had a lesson — to see our own face in the picture and wake up at last to rediscover the deeper inter-relation of religion and morality, and the latter as simply the social consequence of the sacrifice and symbols which stand at the heart of Catholicism, that we may all come together again to take a full part most meaningfully in the common action, the sacrament of unity: *this is the chalice of my blood, the new law, the remission of sins.*

ADRIAN HASTINGS.

AN ORGANISED CHURCH gives you not gold waiting to be minted, but ore waiting to be smelted; there will always be dross.

MSGR. KNOX.

Islam and Christianity in East Africa:

before the mid-nineteenth century*

Before the time of Muhammad Christianity flourished in Arabia, and its most southerly recorded outpost, albeit heretical, was the island of Socotra, which Cosmas Indicopleustes visited in 524 A.D. and found to be subject to the Nestorian *Catholikos* of Babylon. Somewhat over a thousand years later the island was visited by St. Francis Xavier in the course of his voyage to India in 1542: there was no longer a bishop, nor an ordained clergy, but the Office was still recited publicly four times daily in the Chaldean tongue. It was a mere vestige of Christianity, and St. Francis found that Baptism was no longer practised (1).

We have few data from which to reconstruct the history of Socotra, and the history of Christianity upon the island can be said to be to all intents and purposes unknown. In origin the island has an Indian name, and its people would seem essentially to have been a cosmopolitan trading community. We cannot say why missionary activity did not irradiate from the island, nor is there any trace of any penetration of Christianity further south along the trade route from South Arabia as far as Rhapta, probably somewhere near the estuary of the present Pangani river, as described by the first century Periplus of the Erythraean Sea and by Claudius Ptolemy, and long established in their times.

The religious history of the East African coast is thus to be divided into four periods. In the first, probably from the seventh century and up to the coming of the Portuguese, Islam held undisputed sway. It was confined, however, to the coastal regions and appears never to have penetrated inland. In the second period, that of the Portuguese, after a slow start, a small number of missions were established on the coast, but insufficient in numbers and men to have any deep or lasting effect after the departure of the Portuguese in the early eighteenth century. Thus in the third period Islam again became un-

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* SIGLA USED IN NOTES:

HS: Publications of the Hakluyt Society, London.
JEASC: Journal of the East African Swahili Committee, P.O. Box 262, Kampala, Uganda.
NC: The Numismatic Chronicle, London.
TNR: Tanganyika Notes and Records, P.O. Box 511, Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika.

The place of publication is given only for works published outside Great Britain.

(1) Cosmas Indicopleustes, (text), ed. E.O. Winstedt, 1909, supersedes that of Migne, *Patrologia Graeca; cp. The Topographia Christiana* ed. and trans., J.W. McCrindle, HS, 1897; G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, Cosmas Indicopleustes: A Problem in East African History, TNR, no. 52, March, 1959; Epistolae S. Francisci Xavieri, T.i. (1535-48), ed. G. Schurhammer and J. Wicki, Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, Vol. 67, Rome.

disputed, until the mid-nineteenth century when the modern period of missionary activity began. It was only in this last period, with which this article is not concerned, that Islam entered the interior; at the beginning of the reign of Sayyid Majid of Zanzibar (1856-70), when Sir Richard Burton and J.H. Speke were the first Europeans to cross Tanganyika from side to side, they found no conversions to Islam in the interior; and Burton, indeed, goes so far as to state that the people were too primitive to absorb its doctrines (2).

We are thus first concerned with the period in which, to use the pungent phrase of de Barros, Islam worked its way 'like a slow plague' along the coast, and how, in an Arab milieu which was both constantly refreshed with immigrants and at the same time progressively Africanised by intermarriage with the tribes near the coast, it developed characteristics which are specifically East African. For this there is fresh information which has never yet been fully considered, especially in the History of Kilwa and in the recently published Kitab al-Zanuj, as well as from a great mass of archaeological evidence which as yet is hardly sifted, and only just beginning to be appreciated and known (3).

The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea and Claudius Ptolemy depict a string of small South Arabian settlements along the coast of *Azania*, a word plainly cognate with Ptolemy's *Zingis* and the *Zanj* of the medieval Arab writers. The Arab sea-captains and merchants intermarried with the natives, knew all their villages and understood and spoke their language, surely the beginning of that process of hybridisation which has resulted in the Swahili language, the *lingua franca* of East Africa today. In no way at variance with these early, foreign documents, the Kitab al-Zanuj, which is a late nineteenth century redaction of a number of earlier documents and oral traditions, ascribes the foundation of the principal coastal cities to pre-Islamic times. Islam is said to have reached East Africa in the reign of the Caliph 'Umar, by no means an unlikely development. Later the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan (685-705) is stated to have despatched Syrian Arabs to Mogadishu and Kilwa, while in 766-7

(2) W. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, New York, 1912, gives a very free translation of the text of C. Muller, Geographi Graeci Minores, I, Paris, 1855, but this is corrupt and incorrect. A new edition is currently being prepared for the HS by the Revd Fr. Gervase Mathew, O.P. Sir R.F, Burton, Zanzibar, City, Island and Coast, 1871; J.H. Speke, Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile, 1864; cp. R.A. Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa, 1952, 202-207.

(3) J. de Barros, da Asia, Decade I, 1552, ed. A. Baiao, Coimbra, 1932, 308-311, 380-381; E. Cerulli, Somalia, scritti editi ed inediti, I, Rome, 1957, 231 seq.; G. Mathew, O.P., Recent Discoveries in East African Archaeology, The Antiquaries Journal, XXVII, 1953; idem, The Culture of the East African Coast in the 17th and 18th centuries in the light of recent archaeological discoveries, Man, LVI, art. 61, May, 1956; G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, Some Recent Archaeological Work on the Tanganyika Coast, Man, LVIII, art, 155 July, 1958; and forthcoming 1960 The Medieval History of the Tanganyika Coast, Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.

the Caliph al-Mansur is said to have despatched a further expedition, since he doubted the loyalty of Mogadishu, Manda, Pate, Lamu, Oja, Kilifi, Mombasa, Zanzibar, Kilwa and (?) Witu. Harun al-Rashid (786-809) is said to have sent governors to Kiswayu in the Bajun Islands, Mombasa, Pemba and Kilwa, and some other places unspecified. At this point, however, the redactor, with a nonchalant irrelevance, turns to an account of the Turkish raids of the end of the sixteenth century (4).

It is clear that this account is fragmentary and defective, and should not be taken *au pied de la lettre*. Nevertheless it is supported by other local traditions of origins wholly independent from the Kitab al-Zanuj, and contains some sub-stratum of truth. The History of Kilwa, originally composed c. 1520, speaks of the foundation of the city c. 957, but a tradition recorded in 1811 by Prior claims that it was founded in the seventh century. These statements are not irreconcilable, for the History of Kilwa states that the founder, Ali ibn al-Husain ibn Ali, on his arrival met a Muslim settler there, and that he had a mosque. His name was Muriri wa Bari, a form certainly not Arabic, but possibly Bantu: he may have been a survivor of an earlier migration. Likewise the History of Pate, of which there are a number of versions, claims 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan as founder through the agency of Syrian settlers of Pate, Malindi, Zanzibar, Mombasa, Lamu and Kilwa. A footnote to one version gives an even longer list, extending down the coast as far as Tungi south of the Rovuma in modern Mozambique and to Ngazija in the Comoro Islands. The History of Lamu, a wholly independent text, similarly claims 'Abd al-Malik as founder of the city. The History of Pate also makes a brief reference to Harun al-Rashid, but does not specify his intervention in East Africa (5).

In addition to these local documents, there are a small number of other references. The History of the Imams and Seyyids of Oman, largely a résumé of traditions current in Oman in the early eighteenth century, records the flight of two royal brothers, Sulaiman and Said, from the persecutions of al-Hajjaj on his appointment as governor of Arabia in 692. It was Hichen's opinion that the Said claimed as the founder of Lamu is the same person, but, if this is so, it is strange that the History of Lamu does not mention Sulaiman (6).

De Barros, whose Da 'Asia appeared in 1552, gives an account of a document once in the Torre do Tombo

(4) Cerulli, loc. cit.; on the growth of the Swahili language, G.S.P. Freeman-Greville, Medieval Evidences for Swahili, JEASC, no. 29/1, Jan. 1959.

(5) History of Kilwa: apud de Barros, ut supra; S.A. Strong, A History of Kilwa (Arabic text), Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1895; W. Hichens, ed. Shaibu Faraji bin Hemed al-Bakariy al-Lamuy, Khabar Lamu (The History of Lamu), Bantu Studies, XII, Johannesburg, 1938; T. Prior, Voyage of the Frigate *Nisus*, 1819.

(6) Hichens, op. cit.; G.P. Badger, ed. Salil ibn Razik, History of the Imams and Seyyids of Oman, HS, 1871, which is based on an earlier text by Sirhan ibn Sa'id ibn Sirhan, fl.c. 1728, Annals of Oman, tr. E.C. Ross, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, III, Calcutta, 1874.

in Lisbon which was presumably lost in the earthquake of 1728. He records the first Arab settlers as heretics whom he calls *Emozaydij*. This term has been explained as *umma Zaidiyya*, but if this is correct, it cannot be supported as a name for the sect in other authors. These persons he correctly describes as Shi'a. They still form the ruling class in the Yemen, and, if he is alone in relating this tradition, there is nothing unlikely in it. The Zaidites, he continues, fled into the interior on the arrival of the next wave of immigrants, orthodox Sunni from al-Hasa. Certainly no Zaidites survive in East Africa today. The story of the immigrants from al-Hasa, however, seems tainted and may be a myth. Seven brothers are said to have come in three ships. Of these one was driven off course, with the result that they discovered Sofala and its gold, and waxed rich. This tale is virtually a doublet with the opening of the Arabic version of the History of Kilwa, where six brothers and their father depart by ship from Shiraz — albeit the town is several hundred miles inland! — and proceed to settle in six places on the East African coast with Johanna in the Comoros. The Arabic version has serious *lacunae* in its present state, but the abstract given by de Barros relates that some two hundred years later a Kilwa fisherman, dragged off his course by a large fish and then by a storm, was driven down to Sofala. There he found that Mogadishu already enjoyed a monopoly of the gold trade, but was on bad terms with the natives. Saying nothing, he returned in a Mogadishu ship to Kilwa, and reported to the sultan, who negotiated a treaty for Kilwa which ousted Mogadishu and gave Kilwa the monopoly of gold. In all this probably the only concrete facts are the immigrations themselves, the foundation of the Kilwa dynasty, and, what is certain, that from the mid-twelfth to the end of the fifteenth century Kilwa had a monopoly of the gold trade. De Barros also considers that the founder of Kilwa was not an orthodox Sunni. This view was accepted by Walker, and Reusch states that al-Hasan ibn Sulaiman III (1310-1333) converted Kilwa from Shi'ism to Sunni orthodoxy on his return from Mecca in 1310. But, apart from the remark of de Barros, there is no evidence that Kilwa was ever other than orthodox, and so careful an observer of orthodoxy as Ibn Battuta, who visited Kilwa c. 1331-2, would surely have mentioned it had there been Shi'a there. On the contrary he praises the orthodoxy of the people, whom he says follow the Shafi'i rite like the rest of the coast (7).

As to the Arab geographers and travellers of the middle ages, they vouchsafe us little information. al-Mas'udi may well have sailed to Madagascar in the early 10th century, and he regards the whole coast as pagan, and a similar view is taken

(7) de Barros, ut supra; J. Walker, History and Coinage of the Sultans of Kilwa, NC, 1936; R. Reusch, History of East Africa, Stuttgart, 1954; Ibn Battuta, apud Les Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah, 4 vols., Paris, 1862 seq., ed. C. Defrémery & B.R. Sanguinetti, vol. ii.

slightly earlier by the *Kitab al-Ajaib al-Hind*. So too al-Idrisi (1100-1166) speaks of the adoration of stones and fish gods at Barawa, but we should not, perhaps, pay too much attention to those who obtained their information at second and third hand at best.

Nevertheless, c. 846, Ibn Khurdadhbih, director of posts and intelligence in Media, wrote an account of the whole postal system of the Caliphate. It is significant that the southernmost station he mentions is Aden: clearly the East African coast was too remote and unimportant to notice. Such Islamic settlements as there were assuredly were small and of little consequence, and it would seem reasonable to conclude that the proud boast of some settlements that they were founded by Abd al-Malik, al-Mansur and Harun al-Rashid means no more than that certain migrations took place during their reigns. Of what importance was the East African coast to the splendid economy of Baghdad! (8)

Yet a certain importance there was, and it is essential to our study to comprehend its nature. As far back as the time of the Periplus the main export of the coast was ivory, and this merits some digression. Only the 'soft' ivory of East Africa can be used for the making of bangles. These have a special ritual significance in the marriage rites of Hindus, and cannot be made from the tusks of the Indian elephant since they are too narrow in gauge. Once used, no other person may wear these bangles, and they are invariably cremated with the married woman who has employed them. Even today India imports half of the world's supply of ivory, and of this no less than half is employed in the making of bangles for Hindu brides. To the extent of this trade, even further afield as far as China, not only the Periplus, but also al-Masudi, bear witness and there can be no doubt that this was the fundamental reason for the continued Arab interest in East Africa, since the Southern Arabs from time immemorial had dominated the carrying trade of the western and northern parts of the Indian Ocean. There were, of course, other articles of commerce, gold, tortoise-shell and slaves, although of the latter literary references are scarce indeed in the Middle Ages. If there were East African slaves in India in the fifteenth century, it is improbable that there were many elsewhere in the Islamic world, since there were other and ample sources, especially in Caucasia and Western Asia, from which they might be derived (9).

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(8) al-Mas'udi, Muruj al-Dhahab wa Ma'adin al-Jawhar, text & trans. C.B. de Meynard & P.de Courteille, 9 vols., Paris, 1861 seq., esp. vol.ii; Kitab al-Ajaib al-Hind, Le livre des merveilles de l'Inde, ed. P. van der Lith, trans. L.-M. Devic, Paris, 1883-6; there is no reliable edition of al-Idrisi, Kitab Rujar — Nuzhat al-Mushtaq fi Ikhtiraq al-Afaq: I follow G. Ferrand, Textes rélatifs a l'extrême orient, I, Paris, 1913, 172 seq; ibn Khurdadhbih, al-Masalik wa al-Mamalik, ed. de Goeje, Leyden, 1889.

(9) I am grateful to Mr. A.M. Chatoo, one of the principal ivory traders of Dar-es-Salaam, for much information which elucidates the account of al-Masudi; R. Coupland, The British Anti-Slavery Movement, 1933, 14 et passim.

It cannot be pretended, then, that East Africa in medieval times was of any great economic importance except in regard to its trade with India. And this too, as is clear from Ibn Battuta and others, was in South Arabian hands. The Kilwa ships, and those of Mogadishu and Malindi, and, later, of Mombasa and Pate, were employed for the collection of ivory and gold up and down the coast: the long distance traffic was managed, as it had been in the times of the Periplus, from South Arabia, from the Persian Gulf, and their entrepôt cities. It is thus that recent archaeological investigations on the coasts of Kenya, Tanganyika and the islands of Pemba, Zanzibar and Mafia, have shown a medieval affluence of a very modest nature. Kirkman's excavation of Gedi suggests a town of no more than 3,500 people; at Mombasa at the beginning of the sixteenth century the Portuguese found 10,000 only; Kilwa, in all probability the richest of the cities, was rated by the Portuguese in 1505 at a mere 4,000, but a figure nearer to 10,000 would seem more probable in view of the fact that the main site is some 1200 metres in length and some 500 metres deep. If, at the end of the thirteenth century, the state of Kilwa was sufficiently advanced to have developed its own coinage, it is to be remarked that, since the long-distance carrying trade was in the hands of others, it was a state essentially self-contained and Africanised. Ibn Battuta, with Duarte Barbosa and the other Portuguese writers all speak of the predominance of dark skins over light; and, whatever the coastal cities may owe to Arab foundations, there can be little doubt that they were all progressively and rapidly Africanised. In 1331 Ibn Battuta found the ruler of Mogadishu speaking a local dialect which he could not understand: Arabic was only a second language. Both at Pate and at Kilwa it seems clear that Swahili was already the court language by the end of the fourteenth century and in all probability long before (10). This must be clearly understood if we are to comprehend Islam on the Swahili coast.

As has already been remarked, Ibn Battuta found the whole coast following the Shafi'i rite. At Mogadishu there was a *Qadi,* and the Friday Mosque had a school for *faqih* under him. No such schools are mentioned elsewhere, but *faqih* are mentioned from time to time in the History of Kilwa, and they must have received their instruction somewhere. Kilwa certainly had a *muhtasib* (an office first described by al-Mawardi, who died in 1058), an officer who combined the duties of chief of municipal police with watching over morals and markets, the inspection of weights and measures, the payment of debts, and the bringing of gamblers, usurers and winesellers, with other transgressors of the

(10) Vide supra, n. 3, and J.S. Kirkman, The Arab City of Gedi, 1954; Historical Archaeology in Kenya, Antiquaries Journal, xxxvii, April 1957; H. N. Chittick, Notes on Kilwa TNR, October 1959, with map inset opposite 178; Ibn Battuta, loc. cit; Duarte Barbosa, the Book of, I, HS, 1918, 19-23; de Barros, op. cit., passim; Freeman-Grenville, Medieval Evidences, 1959 ut supra.

Shari'a, to justice; and this would argue that Kilwa had its own *Qadi* before whom he would have brought his cases. I would venture that there may have been a *madrassah* in one of the numerous outbuildings of the Friday Mosque of Kilwa, which remain yet to be excavated. Amongst these Ibn Battuta tells us that there was a special residence for the *Imam Khatib*, or Friday Preacher, and the History of Kilwa relates that this office was held more than once by members of the royal family, one of whom indeed succeeded to the throne. As in the rest of the Islamic world, the formal recognition of a new sovereign was the mention of his name in the Friday prayers, but there is no evidence that this was accompanied, as elsewhere, by formal recognition from the Caliphate. Several of the Sultans of Kilwa went on the Pilgrimage to Mecca, and one at least, al-Hasan ibn Sulaiman III, 1310-1333, received a theological education at Aden before going on to Mecca (11).

All this is normal enough, and as one would expect. Of greater interest is the evidence for divergences from the norms of orthodoxy which display a distinct Africanisation of the cult even in the Middle Ages. The earliest mosque in East Africa mentioned in literature is that named Kibala which the founder of Kilwa found there on his arrival. A recently reported tradition gives this name by the form Kibarra, and claims that it is the older, northern portion of the Friday mosque. This mosque was already in use as a burial place, and, whereas all over the Islamic world the cemeteries are normally on the outskirts of towns and villages, here in East Africa they are almost invariably found adjacent to the mosques. Fifteen burials were found in the course of the excavation of the Friday Mosque of Gedi, all of them adults of a non-negro type. At Mogadishu, Ibn Battuta relates, the father of the ruler whom he met was buried within the precinct of the Friday Mosque, and the Friday Ceremonies concluded with special prayers at his tomb. This is distinctly different from medieval Cairo, where the Friday Mosques were not used as burial places, even for the great or distinguished: and, where the mausolea are provided with a mosque, this is wholly separate from the tomb chamber. Not only is the place of burial abnormal, but also the type of tomb employed for the wealthy. The 'pillar tomb' is wholly distinctive to East Africa, one side of the tomb displaying a pillar, frequently on the north side, some square, some round, some polygonal, and from fifteen to more than thirty feet high. These are known in Swahili as *minara*, and in the only known Arabic reference as *manarah*, the same word as that employed for the minaret of a mosque (12).

(11) P.K. Hitti, History of the Arabs, 1956 edn., 322 quoting al—Mawardi; Strong, op. cit.

(12) Chittick, op. cit., 193, n. 22; Strong, op. cit.; Kirkman, Gedi, 11,12; Ibn Battuta, ut supra; Kirkman, Mnarani of Kilifi, Ars Orientalis III; and, in this and the following paragraph, personal observations of the writer of the sites of which a map is given in Man, 1958, ut supra.

It is singular, however, that minarets proper are extremely rare in East Africa, and, so far as medieval times are concerned, the only examples are at Mogadishu and at Ras Mkumbuu on Pemba Island. There are two examples at Kilwa and one at Kaole, south of Bagamoyo (from which Burton and Speke set off on their historic journey) of apparently purposeless external staircases which may have had the purpose of enabling the *mueddhin* to chant from the roof. (We know the name of one medieval *mueddhin* of Kilwa, and yet there is no trace there of any minaret from which he could have given the Call to Prayer.) The Swahili word *mnara,* therefore, does not ordinarily mean a minaret but a tomb feature. Its apex is occasionally flat, but very frequently modelled turban-wise so that its resemblance to the *membrum virile* is hardly mistakeable. If the origin of this decoration may have come from the custom of placing the turban of the deceased at the head of his grave, it is to be noted that the turban is placed on the east, not the north, side, and it is difficult to escape the conviction that the *minara* were in some sense fertility emblems. This view is fortified by two recent discoveries. The first is a stone *phallus* of soapstone most carefully wrought and proportioned in size, which was found at Kisimani Mafia in 1956 and now in the writer's possession; the other is a plaster representation of a *phallus* which surmounts the arch of the *mihrab* at Mtitimira, an isolated walled settlement some nine miles north of Kilwa discovered by H.N. Chittick in 1957, and for which there is evidence that it was deserted before 1500. Tombs such as these are to be found as far north as Somalia, but not south of the Mafia Islands.

If Ibn Battuta found the beliefs of those with whom he talked fundamentally orthodox, there were other practices of local and pagan origin. According to the History of Pate the newly-wed were immured for seven days after the ceremony, still the practice of certain coastal tribes. In local tradition at Gedi, and also elsewhere on the coast, the part of the mosque nearest the pulpit is known as *kiapo,* the place at which oaths are taken. Both the doorways of mosques and even the *mihrabs* have decorations which can scarcely be regarded as orthodox, spear heads, fish, rope decoration and even, at Ndumi near Tanga, two Crosses. In the solemn procession to and fro the Friday Prayers at Mogadishu the ruler was preceded by a band of music, and was sheltered by a canopy borne on four staves, each of which was surmounted by a golden bird. There is eighteenth century evidence for a similar royal band at Kilwa. The *mihrabs* of the mosques were not merely, as elsewhere, built with the intention of indicating the direction of Mecca. At Tongoni, near Tanga, — the Mtang'ata of the Portuguese — the ruined *mihrab* was found to be choked with broken sherds of pottery some of which displayed the remains of offerings of food and incense, and even since the excavation of Gedi the *mihrab* of the Friday Mosque continues to be the centre of such a

cult, albeit carried out under cover of darkness. At Songo Mnara in 1951 Fr. Gervase Mathew, O.P., found the remains of a sacrifical offering of a goat on the top of the ruined, enigmatic tower which gives the island its name. For offerings of food and incense at tombs, and, later, of coins and also beads, there are too numerous examples to list, and the examples given above of propitiatory offerings in mosques are but two of some several score of examples known to the writer. It is thus difficult to escape the conclusion that if the coast was nominally Islamic and orthodox, the principal religious force among the people at large was a belief in and the fear of ancestral spirits, of an accompanying belief in propitiatory offerings, and, a matter for which there can only be modern and at best flimsy evidence, a widespread belief and practice of witchcraft. In truth, East Africa was too far from the normal centres of Islamic religion and culture for the imported cult to have much depth. It was rather an Islamic veneer laid upon a compromise with African paganism (13).

(13) C.H. Stigand, The Land of Zinj, 1913, 28—102, gives the longest of the extant versions of the History of Pate, whose relation is discussed by A.H.J. Prins, On Swahili Historiography, JEASC 28/2, July 1958; Kirkman, Gedi, 2, 6; Fr. G. Mathew, O.P., The U.N.E.S.C.O. Courier, October 1959, Forgotten Cities of the East African Coast, reminds us that the Friday Ceremony of Mogadishu is reminiscent of West African ideas of kingship; I am grateful to him too for an unpublished account of Songo Mnara; see also his Songo Mnara, TNR, no. 53, October, 1959; some references to witchcraft are given in W.H. Ingrams, Zanzibar, 1931, but recent study of this and kindred matters by Dr. P. A. Lienhardt is as yet unpublished.

In all this period, albeit Vasco da Gama expected to encounter Christians when he rounded the Cape in 1498, we know nothing of Christians upon the coast south of Socotra. But there are at present three straws of evidence which can neither be explained nor ignored. The Crosses which decorate roundels above the *mihrab* in the mosque at Ndumi have already been mentioned. At Kilwa, in the Sultan's Palace, in what has reasonably been assumed to be part of the women's quarters, there are a number of incised Crosses on the walls. Elsewhere the Cross occurs as a frequent *motif* in wood carving, as a flattened variant of the Maltese Cross. These examples may perhaps be explained away since, after all, the Cross is a simple decorative form, albeit it is certainly strange on the *mihrab* of a mosque. It is not so easy, however, to account for its unique appearance in medieval Muslim numismatics in the coinage of the Sultan Daud ibn Sulaiman of Kilwa (regent, 1308-10; sultan, 1333-56). The earliest Muslim coins were frank imitations of those of the Byzantines, but the Cross had been expunged from them by the end of the seventh century as a symbol of impiety. It never appears again in Muslim numismatics except on the coins of this single ruler of Kilwa. Yet the Arabic version of the Kilwa history speaks of him as a devout and pious king, and Ibn Battuta confirms his orthodoxy, at least in 1331. Nevertheless no less than six variants of his coinage, all of copper, bear this symbol. It is difficult to suspect him of being a secret Christian, and, as

it is, the matter is an enigma which may only perhaps be solved when there has been systematic archaeological investigation of the coast (14).

On his first voyage Vasco da Gama made only a brief halt in East African waters at Malindi, as did Cabral in 1500. It was on his second voyage of 1502 that da Gama spent some time at Kilwa, and, just as he was leaving, to his dismay found more than two hundred local women who had been brought on board by his sailors, and who declared, when they were discovered, that they all wished to become Christians, and would drown themselves if they were put ashore again. He declared that 'the Christianity these women asked for was not on account of any good understanding they possessed of our holy faith, but solely in order to see themselves freed from the treatment by the Moors, together with the allurements which had been used towards them by those who had stolen them.' In short, he found them of slender virtue, and suspected his crew. Nevertheless the Sultan of Kilwa sent a message to say, when da Gama wished to return them on shore, that the husbands of about forty refused to take them back, and, if he would not take them away, they would all be killed. Accordingly da Gama transported these forty women to Cananor and Cochim, the first known converts to Christianity in East Africa (15).

It was not until 1505, however, that any clergy were settled in East Africa. In that year Francisco d'Almeida erected a fort and garrisoned it at Kilwa, and left behind two Franciscans as chaplains to the garrison. In a letter dated 31 August 1506 the Captain of Kilwa reported that forty men and women wished to become Christians, but that the Sultan had refused his consent, since they were slaves. He asked the advice of the King of Portugal, but no reply has survived. Nevertheless, says the Captain, 'it appeared to me that I ought not to deny them the water of baptism'. The Kilwa Fort was dismantled as unprofitable in 1512, and thereafter no more is heard of Franciscans at Kilwa: presumably they left with the garrison. No more indeed is heard of any missionary activity until 1542, when St. Francis Xavier arrived in Malindi in the course of his journey to India. Here he buried a man who had died on his ship, and saw 'the Moors were much edified when they saw the way we Christians have of burying the dead.' He entered into dispute with one of the leading *sheikhs*, who informed him that Islam had so much declined in Malindi that, of the seventeen mosques, only three were in use,

(14) E.G. Ravenstein, A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama, HS, 1898, 35, 36, 39, 40, 44 45, disposes of the alleged Christians, finding that they were in fact Hindus; on the Kilwa coinage, see Walker, op. cit., 1936; idem, Some New Coins from Kilwa, NC, 1939; G.S.P. Freeman—Grenville, A New Hoard and some unpublished variants of the Sultans of Kilwa, NC, 1954; idem, Coinage in East Africa before the Coming of the Portuguese, NC, 1957.

(15) E.J. Stanley, The Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama, HS, 1869, 291—303.

'telling me that among his people piety was losing ground and asking if it was the same among Christians'. St. Francis told them that 'the Lord God, who is utterly faithful in all things is never satisfied with infidels, still less with their prayers; and that this was the reason why God wanted prayer among them to fail since theirs did not serve him' (16). It was perhaps a result of this visit that in 1554 the Viceroy of Goa gave instructions for the preaching of the Gospel in nearby Mombasa, but when the Jesuit Father Monclaro visited there in 1569 nothing had been done. It was about this period that both the Jesuits and Dominicans commenced work in neighbouring Mozambique. In East Africa proper, although their success in Mozambique was considerable, only one conversion is known. About 1591 the nephew of the ruler of Zanzibar went secretly to Fr. Joao dos Santos, O.P., in the Kerimba Islands, and was there baptised. So vengeful did his uncle declare himself, that it was necessary to keep him in the Dominican house in Mozambique (17).

It was not until the Portuguese had completed Fort Jesus at Mombasa that any serious effort was made towards the conversion of the northern sector of the coast. By 1598 there were Augustinian Canons as Vicars at Faza, Pate and Lamu, but only that of Faza had any permanency. Four Augustinians were stationed at Mombasa, and in 1599 they were able to report some six hundred converts, among them the exiled King of Pemba. In addition the *Fraternity of the Misericordia* was established there, an organisation of the laity which provided for the care of widows, orphans and indigent converts, and which had a church and a priest of its own. In 1606 a Franciscan, Gaspar da Santo Bernadino, visited the Augustinian house at Faza, and found the Muslim king favourable to Christianity. He took opportunity to thank him for help in building the church, to which the king retorted: 'Fathers, while I had no Christian Church in my city, I lived in fear; now, however, I live well content in peace because in the Church I have walls which guard my city; and in the Fathers, soldiers to defend it'. It was less than twenty years since the Turks had invaded Faza, and dragged a Portuguese, John Rebelo, to his death, pelting him with stones because he would not deny the faith. It speaks highly for the Augustinians that such a change had come to pass in so short a time (18). In 1624 another Franciscan, Jerome Lobo, visited Faza, and kept Holy Week

(16) On the general history of the period, see E. Axelson, South—East Africa, 1484—1530, 1940; letter of the Captain of Kilwa, Axelson, 241; St. Francis Xavier, ut supra, note 1.

(17) Fr. Monclaro, Relaçao da Viagec... na conquista de Monomotapa, apud G.M. Theal, Records of S.—E. Africa, Cape Town, 9 vols., 1898—1902, III, 157—253; Fr. Joao dos Santos, Etiopia Oriental, Evora, 1607, is a mine for the history of the coast in this period and merits a translation with commentary.

(18) Inscription over inner door of Fort Jesus, Mombasa: Livro da Fazenda — livro enque se contem a fazenda e real patrimonio dos Reyes de Portugal, 1586—1598; Sir John Gray, Rezende's Description of East Africa in 1634, TNR no. 23, 1947, based upon P.B. de Rezende, Descripsam da fortalleza da Mombasa; idem, Early Portuguese Missionaries in East Africa, 1958, 19 seq.; British Museum Additional Mss 28, 20; G. da Santo Bernardino, Itinerario da India por Terra Santa; dos Santos, op. cit., Book v, ch. iv.

there. There were four priests and seventy Christians (19).

Missionary work seems to have begun somewhat later in Zanzibar, and it is not until 1634 that we hear of a church. Little detail of its history has been recovered, but Zanzibar remained friendly to Portugal in 1632 when all the mainland coast had risen. The occasion of this revolt had been the son of the King of Malindi, who, c. 1600, has been made King of Mombasa by the Portuguese. Most grave misunderstandings followed, and in 1614 he had been murdered, apparently at the instigation of the Portuguese governor. By way of recompense, the King of Portugal ordered that his son should be taken to Goa, and educated in the Augustinian House of Our Lady of Grace, and brought up and instructed in the Christian faith. He was baptised, and known as Dom Jeronimo Chingulia. In 1627 he wrote a letter of obedience to the Pope, having, shortly before, returned to Mombasa to take up his throne. A Swahili history of Mombasa records: "He had been brought up among the Portuguese. He ate pork like them, and, in general, ate the food they use... When he had obtained power, he governed in a most tyrannical manner; he compelled the people to eat pork, and was wicked, and an infidel." He seems, however, to have been an unstable personality, and to have had successive quarrels with the commanders of the fort. In 1631 it transpired that he was reverting to Islam, but before the Portuguese commander, who had been informed, had determined to act, Chingulia had taken matters into his own hands. On the Feast of the Assumption, 1631, he went to pay a complimentary visit to the Portuguese commander, and slit his throat. There followed a general massacre of Portuguese, who were given the choice of embracing Islam, as he had done, or death. One Natalia da Sà especially deserves mention. When she had learnt that almost all the men had been killed, she took a Crucifix in her hand, and exhorted the women, who had taken refuge in the Augustinian house, to stand steadfast in the faith. Brought before Chingulia, and ordered to turn Muslim or die, she rejected his command with the utmost contempt. All the women were put into boats, under pretext of sending them to Pate, and then cast into the sea and drowned. Two days later the commandant's wife, and some boys, who were led out of the house by an Augustinian, 'singing, dancing and praising God', with others, were also done to death; and a number of converts among the natives, who had taken refuge in the principal church, were harangued by Chingulia, after he had trampled the Host in their presence. Of these, forty-seven embraced Islam, but four hundred, who remained faithful, were sent to Mecca as slaves. But in 1632 Chingulia himself fled, and the Portuguese were able to regain control. So far as is known, no attempt has yet been made to raise

(19) M. Legrand, Relation Historique d'Abissinie, quoted Gray, Early Portuguese Missionaries, 25.

these martyrs, nor John Rebelo, to the honours of the altars of the Church (20).

The remaining history of the Portuguese on the East African (as opposed to the Mozambique) coast is one of weakness and constant rebellion, and, by 1730, the Portuguese had withdrawn to their present possession of Mozambique. The Christians of East Africa fade into obscurity, and are no more heard of, and it can only be imagined that they were engulfed by the rising tide of Islam. By the middle of the seventeenth century the Arabs of Oman had already begun to intervene on the coast, an intervention which had become serious by the end of the century. By the middle of the eighteenth century Oman was in full, if tenuous, control of the coast, either by governors, as at Mombasa, or by local agreement or treaty. H.N. Chittick has recently called attention to a remarkable fact, that while we can identify many mosques of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and again of the eighteenth and nineteenth, between these periods there seems to have been little building. We cannot ascribe this to the Catholic missions, for their efforts were confined to Mombasa, Faza, Pemba and what is today Zanzibar Town. It is evident that in the intervening period Islam was in decline (21).

The increasing influence of the Omani Arabs, however, wrought a change, most especially when, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Sayyid Said of Oman and Zanzibar (1804-1856) began to make determined efforts to assert his power on the coast. By the end of the fourth decade of the century he had moved his court to Zanzibar, and had governors firmly established at all the principal towns on the coast. These, seconded by *Qadis*, administered Islamic law, and, among the growing prosperity of the coastal belt, not only due to the slave trade, but to commerce in ivory (whose value exceeded that of the export of slaves), in copal and in other articles of local produce, Islam became more firmly established than perhaps ever before. In this period, as the written and oral records of many Afro-Arab families attest, many migrants arrived from South Arabia, bringing with them a firmer Islamic tradition. It was none the less to be observed that these new migrants accepted specifically Swahili, African, traditions, among which we may especially note the wholly animistic ceremonies which hallowed the keep-

(20) G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, A Local History of Mombasa, (reconstruction of the lost text) forthcoming publication of the Kenya History Society; W.F. Owen, Narrative of Voyages to explore the Shores of Africa, Arabia and Madagascar, New York, 2 vols., 1833, i, 422; the Papal letter is published in J. Strandes, Die Portugiesenzeit in Deutsch und English Ost-Afrika, Berlin, 1899, which also gives a detailed description of the revolt based upon O Chronista da Tissuary.

(21) Sir John Gray, The British in Mombasa, 1824-1826, 1957, ch. i, gives a careful and detailed description of the period; R. Coupland, East Africa and Its Invaders, 1938, 73 seq.; Annual Report, Antiquities Department, Tanganyika, 1957, Government Printer, Dar-es-Salaam, 1958.

ing of Nairozi, the Swahili New Year (22).

It is in this period, too, that Swahili culture begins to take on some of its distinctive characteristics.

The Swahili poetry, at first wholly imitative of Arabian models, begins to display a local flavour and style, and, in the poem *al-Inkishafi* (The Soul's Awakening), which is a meditation upon the Day of Judgement and the transitory nature of earthly things, to reach a height of feeling not far removed from Dante. In architecture a distinctive and by no means inelegant style was developed, a compromise between South Arabian austerity and, within, the African love of colour and brilliance (23). The music of the Swahili has not yet been studied, but may well seem to display the same compromise of characteristics. In religion, if strict Islamic orthodoxy might superficially appear to prevail, the same compromise between Islam and African animism, to which attention has already been called, persisted. It survives today in the cult of the *mizimu,* the ancestral spirits, who are propitated with offerings of incense, food and even beer laid upon the tombs in the cemeteries beside the mosques.

In sum, the labours of the Augustinian missionaries might to the world's eye well seem wasted. Their converts were dispersed, dead and gone, with no Christian families to succeed them. The early missionaries report no traces of Christianity surviving on the coast. Yet perhaps their achievement lay in what was to happen in the future, when, borne in on the full tide of European exploration and commerce, the missions came to be established after the middle of the nineteenth century. There is a striking contrast between their reception and the final chapter surviving of the Arabic version of the Kilwa History, which curses the Portuguese for their infidel religion, praying God that they may be accursed and sent back to their own land. It happens that the first missionary to come to East Africa after the departure of the Augustinians c. 1730 was a Protestant, Johannes Ludwig Krapf. In 1844 he approached Sayyid Said of Zanzibar, and was given a letter to bear to the governor of Mombasa, to inform Said's subjects that Krapf was a 'good man who wishes to convert the world to God. Behave well to him and be everywhere serviceable to him' (24). If in 1607 Fr. Joao dos Santos had had to deplore the poor example given by the

(22) Coupland, op. cit., supra; a detailed study of the Nairozi ceremonies is shortly to be published by Dr. P.A. Lilehardt, to whom I am indebted for this information.

(23) Mathew, Culture of the E.A. Coast, 1958, cited n. 3 supra; W. Hichens, ed. Sayyid Abdallah ibn Ali ibn Nasir, al-Inkishafi, 1939; E. Dammann, German Contributions to Swahili Studies In Recent Decades, JEASC no. 26, June 1956; a certain body of poetry much of which is long out of print, has recently been republished in Supplements to the JEASC, while, a new series Johari za Kiswahili (Jewels of Swahili) is about to be issued by the East African Literature Bureau, Nairobi.

(24) Coupland, op. cit., 389, quoted from J.L. Krapf, Travels, Researches and Missionary Labours during an eighteen years' residence in Eastern Africa, 1860, 127.

Christian Portuguese (25), there had been a remarkable number of martyrs which included converts, and there was too the peaceful record of Faza and the sentiments of its king. Four or five generations had elapsed since the Augustinians had gone, the last of them saved by the slave of an elderly gentlewoman, but there is everything to suggest that they had earned themselves a good name among the coastal people (26), and this may well have persisted. Sixteen years after the arrival of Krapf the first Catholic priests under the Abbé Fava arrived in Zanzibar, and took up their quarters in what is still the Catholic Mission there. Seculars, their work was shortly taken over by the Holy Ghost Fathers, who speedily established themselves at Bagamoyo. If at first the Protestant British Consul in Zanzibar was antipathetic to their arrival and feared they would make political complications, they speedily won golden opinions (27).

If the first Catholic missionaries in East Africa had no apparent permanent success, they may seem to have prepared the way for others. If at first the Crescent may seem to have been victorious, yet the victory was not to be a permanent one; and we may well recall the prophetic words which, ironically, still adorn the walls of the Great Mosque of Damascus, which was once the Cathedral of St. John the Evangelist, and which was seized and made a mosque in 705. They are from the Septuagint version of Psalm 114, in Greek, and read: Thy Kingdom, O Christ, is an everlasting Kingdom; and Thy Dominion endures throughout all generations (28).

DR. G.S.P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE.

(25) Op. cit., Book V, Ch. XI.

(26) W.E. Taylor, African Aphorisms, 1894, 90, 95; Gray, Early Portuguese Missionaries, 42, 43, 44.

(27) R. Coupland, The Exploitation of East Africa, 1939, 33—34, 355; writing of the Bagamoyo Mission in 1873, Sir Bartle Frere said: "I would recommend it as a model to be followed in any attempt to civilise or evangelise Africa.

(28) Quoted K.A.C. Cresswell, A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture, 1958, 50.

IT IS of the first importance that the African educated classes be thoroughly instructed in their duty as Christian citizens. The relevant principles have been repeatedly affirmed by the Roman Pontiffs since Pope Leo XIII, and it will be a blessing of inestimable value to Africa and to the world if the African States now emerging are built up upon them.

LAUREANO CARDINAL RUGAMBWA.

Mission and Liturgy

At the request of many readers we are publishing the conclusions drawn up at the end of the study week held at Nijmegen in September 1959, under the presidency of His Eminence Cardinal Gracias.

They show in detail the invaluable service rendered by this meeting towards achieving a more active participation by the Missions in the Liturgical movement.

We have added a few points which were particularly stressed in the General Report.

It was recommended:

HOLY MASS

1. That the privilege, already granted by the Holy See to many missionary Bishops, should be extended to all missionary lands, whereby the faithful, assisting at a Mass "in cantu" may sing the Ordinary of the Mass (Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, etc.) in their own tongue; and that there should be a general extension of the further privilege, already granted to some Ordinaries, which allows a paraphrase of the Proper (Introit, Gradual, etc.) or hymns suitable to the Liturgical cycle to be sung in the language of the country.

2. That the instructions (Epistle & Gospel) should be read by the Ministers or by the Celebrant himself turning towards the people and in their own language.

3. That the number of passages from Holy Scripture read at Mass on Sundays should be greatly increased so that in a cycle of four years the treasures of the Scriptures would be thrown open more widely to the faithful.

The Celebrant should not be expected to repeat those parts of the Mass which are read or sung by the Ministers, the choir or the congregation. (This is already done in the restored Liturgy of Holy Week).

4. That when, as often happens in missionary countries, it is difficult to celebrate a Missa Solemnis, permission may be given, in order to increase the solemnity of the Eucharistic celebration, for the use at a Missa Cantata, of some of the ceremonies that belong properly to the Missa Solemnis, such as the assistance of a deacon or of a

priest acting as a deacon and for the use of incense at all dialogue Masses. Also, that a Bishop may be allowed to celebrate Pontifical Mass with only a deacon to assist him, when circumstances demand.

5. That the "Oratio Fidelium" should be restored and, in order that the faithful assisting at Mass should join in the great intentions of the Church, both universal and local, the prayers should be made in the vernacular.

6. It would seem desirable for permission to be obtained for some liturgical celebrations, such as the Rogation processions, to be transferred to days which are considered by the local Bishop to be more convenient.

THE RITUAL

7. It would appear to be necessary, as a general rule, to adapt the rites both of Sacraments and Sacramentals, servatis servandis, to local customs; above all in suppressing rites and texts which are entirely alien to the mind of the people of the country.

8. It is desirable that the rubrics of the Ritual fix the structure of the rites firmly but that a certain flexibility is left as to the ceremonies in order to allow bishops to adapt them to local conditions.

9. That blessings intended for the use of the faithful or for catechumens should be allowed to be given in the vernacular — though the Latin text should always be printed in the book.

10. It is to be hoped that Ordinaries, having a care for the customs and needs of their flock, will compose formulas for blessings and submit them to the Holy See for approval.

11. That the Rite of Baptism, both of infants and adults should be revised: that the occasion of such revision should be taken to obtain permission for the restoration of the rite of adult baptism in several stages, as was done in the baptism of catechumens in the Early Church: and that the forms of exorcisms should be improved.

12. That Confirmation should be celebrated in such a way that the Christian community and most especially the children who are to be confirmed, and their parents, should have a clearer understanding of the great importance of the sacrament.

13. That the rite of Marriage should be developed so that it is no less solemn than the civil function. With this object in view, and in the spirit of the Council of Trent and of the rubrics of the Ritual itself (VIII 2.6.) it is suggested that some local customs might be allowed to be inserted into the marriage rites, and that these rites take place during the celebration of Mass, as they do already in the Dutch Ritual.

14. It is desirable that, when the Bishop judges it to be wise, local traditions should, servatis servandis, have some part in the Burial rite.

LITURGICAL FORMATION

15. It is desirable that a Liturgical Manual should be compiled by liturgical experts and missionaries for use in seminaries and Missionary Training Centres.

16. Reviews intended for those working in the mission field should stress the importance of pastoral Liturgy. Frequent study sessions should be organised and expert liturgists invited to take part.

17. It is important that Ordinaries and Superiors should see that experts are trained in Liturgy for the missions.

18. That Centres of pastoral Liturgy should be started all over the mission field. These would undoubtedly work better if a general Centre of Pastoral Liturgy were to be established in mission territory.

19. It would be of great value to have some carefully chosen missionaries attached to the Sacred Congregation of Rites in a consulting capacity; and at the same time for Rome to send experts out to the mission countries to give instruction and help to missionaries on the subject of the liturgical apostolate.

20. Since the Sacred Liturgy is based on the Divine word, studies of the Bible with a view to translation into the vernacular should be more and more encouraged so that Christians would be initiated into the fruitful reading of the Word of God.

21. It is highly desirable that in every Mission country there should be a Pastoral Manual, composed by experts, and giving to the Liturgy the importance that is its due.

22. It would be of great assistance to Missionaries if the "Collectanea" of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda Fide and the "Sylloge" of the principal Roman documents were reprinted as soon as possible and once again made available to them.

The point often and strongly stressed at the meeting was that the voice of the Missions should be heard more effectively in Rome, especially in the Sacred Congregation of Rites. The reason is this: in the recent great restoration of the Liturgy many decrees were made for the use of the universal Church. But the meeting found that some of the decrees are not suitable to the Missions: some are difficult to observe, some are impossible; so it means that privileges must be asked for, special faculties, exceptions. But the Missions do not wish to be permanent exceptions. They claim the right to a normal life in the Universal Church. They beg that there should be more contact and better mutual understanding between them and

Rome. There is great need in the Missions of the experience and traditions of the West and of deeper knowledge of the Oriental Liturgies which can contribute an unrivalled splendour to the Universal Church. But at the same time the Western World should recognise not only in theory but also in practice, the ancient culture of many of the peoples of the Mission countries.

Finally the Liturgy will achieve its perfect form in the Mission countries if it is both truly Christian according to the purity of Divine Revelation and at the same time indigenous according to the nature of each people, while retaining all that has been tested by the centuries old tradition of the Church.

"...ET EGO IN EO."

SANCTIFYING GRACE, the glory of being "other Christs", here is our starting point, here we must express ourselves with an insistent clarity. For this is the approach which unites Religion and Life, and here is Religion manifesting the beauty of the hidden depths of our Faith, positive and possessing the capability of making saints. I cannot be a St. Francis of Assisi or a Little Flower, I am myself and Christ takes over this self of mine, longing to sanctify me, to live my life. I am of this century, this particular town, this job, and in this context I must become a saint by allowing Christ to live His life in me as once He lived in St. Francis or in the Little Flower in another context, another period of history, another personal situation. The Saints challenge me in so far as they force me to open wide my life to the life of Christ.

JOHN ARINTERO, O.P.
in *The Mystical Evolution.*

Take Full Advantage of Your Ritual

Simple suggestions for a marriage ceremony

Certainly many missionaries keen on liturgical adaptation have read with much satisfaction the articles of the Rev. B. van Amelsvoort and A.v.d. Weijden published in this Review: "Sugestions for an adapted marriage ceremony" cf. Vol. I n. 2 p. 111, and "Libation: adapted rites and principles" cf. Vol. I n. 4 p.. 263. Thanks to similar studies the liturgical movement has made much progress in many other countries of the world. And we may hope that in Africa as well these ideas will bear their fruits one day.

But let us not think that for the time being we have nothing to do but wait. Such a passive outlook as regards the liturgical apostolate is quite wrong. We can always do something with the possibilities already available in order to improve the present situation and to prepare further development and adaptation.

With this view in mind I have collected a few notes which may help to improve the ceremony of marriage, without need of any special permission. The principle of all these suggestions is that we should give the maximum of solemnity to marriages in church and make the religious wedding as concomitant as possible with the family ceremony. I am referring especially to the new Ritual in Swahili, now widely used in East Africa. But most of these suggestions can also be applied whatever Ritual being used. (Of course, if it has not yet been done, the first thing to do is to use or to ask for a Ritual in the vernacular.)

I— Marriage services should be held not too early in the morning and in the nearest possible vicinity of the place the family festivity is going to be performed. In this way we shall obtain more easily that the religious ceremony will be followed as closely as possible by the family one, and that as many people as possible will attend it, especially parents and friends. It means that permission should be asked to solemnize marriages in all the more important out-stations, and that the Fathers should use this advantage as much as possible while on circuit. As for holding the marriage service late in the morning or even in the afternoon, there is no more difficulty now, thanks to the new regulations of the Eucharistic Fast. Moreover in so doing we shall have plenty of time the very same day before the ceremony, to make the inscriptions

in the books and fulfil all the other formalities, and to place at that time the instructions to the new couple and their confessions.

2— The witnesses should be carefully chosen, really representatives of both families. Why not choose, if possible, those who usually play the more important roles in the family wedding observances, v.g. the bridegroom's father, uncle or tutor, and the bride's mother or aunt? Those who are presenting as their witnesses their younger brother or sister, or even some stranger whom they happen to meet at the church, show that they are not taking the religious ceremony of marriage seriously enough.

3— The "Collectio Rituum" (Swahili) says: "Sponsus et sponsa... honorifice ad altare deducuntur." So the ceremony could start in this way: while a hymn is being sung by the people, the priest or the catechist or some appointed person goes to fetch the bride and the bridegroom and their witnesses, who are waiting at the church door, and accompanies them to the places which have been prepared for them in the sanctuary.

4— The same "Collectio Rituum" says explicitly that the celebrant may wear the cope (pluviale) for the marriage ceremony. Doing so will certainly give more solemnity. Moreover the priest should speak loudly and distinctly enough to be understood by all the people in the church. Singing the prayers on one note, instead of simply saying them, would increase very much the solemnity and the religious atmosphere. If the celebrant sings the prayers in this way, a choir, or better the whole congregation, could be trained to make the responses adequately. Otherwise, if the priest is simply saying the prayers, it is enough that the altar-boys know well what they have to answer. But in order to make all the people participate in the ceremony, the celebrant by the tone of his voice at the end of each prayer, would invite the whole assembly jointly to answer the "Amina" as indicated in the Ritual.

5— Where it is against people's custom that the bride would take a too active part in the marriage ceremony, we should not oblige her to answer quite loudly in the church, nor to pronounce her husband's name, nor to put the ring on to his finger. On the other hand, if it is the custom (as it very often is) that the bride wears a veil during the family wedding observances, we may suggest that she wear it also for the religious ceremony, as another visible link between both ceremonies. The bride's veiling is a most respectful custom, to be found in all times and almost everywhere in the world. It is part of the marriage rites in the Eastern Churches, as it was also in the Roman Ritual until the edition of 1614.

6— After the ceremony of marriage proper and during the Mass following it (if there is any), hymns shoud be sung by the people. The

final admonition as indicated in the "Collectio Rituum" p. 94 should not be neglected, or at least at the end of the service the priest should recite some prayers with the people on behalf of the newly-wed. And as they are coming out of the church accompanied with their witnesses and surrounded by their parents and friends, an outburst of popular joy must be encouraged: applauses, cries, songs, drums, dances... After which a procession immediately organised to go to the place of the family ceremony of wedding, so that both ceremonies are intimately united. That is why the early morning would not be a fitting time for the religious marriage, since the family wedding observances usually only start in the afternoon.

7— In Church history the Sacramentals have always been a very practical means for transforming pagan customs into Christian ones. For instance it would be most advisable to bless solemnly the newly-wed's home the very same day of their marriage. Where this would not be possible on account of the distance, some holy water might be given to the catechist for this purpose; and later on when a Father happens to be in that village, he would do very well by blessing himself this new home. Moreover if people on the occasion of a marriage would like us to bless something more traditional in the family festivity v.g. some oil, some food, or the bride's veil, we should be very pleased to impart God's blessing on those objects.

8— Let us start this liturgical pastoral of the marriage by holding a marriage ceremony on a Sunday, that the whole congregation can get more quickly interested in it. In Missions where there are weekly instructions for the youth, it would be a good idea to place these instructions on the very same day fixed for marriages, and just before the ceremony, in order to improve its attendance and thus its solemnity.

All those are of course but suggestions, and some of them might not be advisable everywhere. They aim at being a help in Missions where there is not yet any form of African adaptation for the rites of marriage, something as a kind of transition to a more fundamental reform.

We may consider that for laypeople the day of their marriage is relatively as important for them as for us the day of our ordination... In order to make them realize the value of the Christian marriage, words are not sufficient, deeds are necessary. For this purpose concrete realizations made up of small details are often more efficient than long talks on the matter. The point is to make the religious ceremony of marriage appeal to the heart of our people, so that it will no more be a strange formality which they have got to undergo, but as much theirs as their own traditional one, blending religious and civil wedding into a harmonious union.

J. BILODEAU, W.F.

Karl Marx:

His Thought in Relation to his Life

These days a great part of the world lies under the control of governments that proclaim allegiance to the teaching of Karl Marx. In other parts of the world again Communist parties are threatening the stability of the governments that are in power. Marxism is a powerful revolutionary force. And few non-Marxists are wholly ignorant of those vibrating theses that this obscure German doctor of philosophy has launched on the world: the doctrine of dialectical materialism which sees each period of human society conditioned entirely by the economic factors of production and considers that the dynamism of social movement comes from the struggle of one class against another; the theory of labour value and of surplus value which declares that in present-day society the factory system sees the proletariat or the workers produce all the value while the bourgeoisie or capitalist middle class appropriates all the wealth above subsistence; the prophecy of the doom of the capitalist era, the final withering away of the state and the ending of private property as the proletariat takes over and sets up a Communist society in which each man gives according to his ability and receives according to his need.

These doctrines with their powerful impact on our world have had no need to be reinforced by the personal exploits of the man who propounded them. But what a short article like the present one may hope to do is to show that the doctrines grew from the human development of the theorist and that they can be best understood in the context of his life.

Karl Marx was born on the 5th May, 1818, in the town of Trier in Germany. His father, Hirschel Marx, came of a family of Jewish rabbis. But this descendant of rabbis had accepted for reasons of convenience a liberal Protestantism and had educated his children without any deep religious convictions. The absence of religious formation left Marx a kind of natural atheist; almost from the beginning he took it for granted that the case against

J. O'Connell, S.M.A.

religion had been decided. And by virtue of his Jewish race he never fitted into society. Hence he escaped the upsurge of the German nationalism of his time. So his family background prepared him for detachment from both the religious and political establishments.

Young Marx arrived at the University of Bonn in 1835. At once he became involved in the political activities of the students and became a thorn in the side of the Prussian administration. Like any good German student he fought a duel — against a member of a feudal and reactionary student club — and received a wound on the cheek. Not all his activities however were purely political. He got into trouble with the university authorities for 'nocturnal drunkenness and riotous behaviour.' After a year in Bonn he went off to the University of Berlin. At the same time he became engaged to a young lady of an aristocratic family, Jenny von Westphalen, who lived next door to him in Trier. She was one of the belles of Trier — and was quite intelligent into the bargain. She waited seven years for Karl until his studies were over. They were to love one another faithfully all their lives and to remain deeply united through the long years of poverty, disease and frustration that lay ahead for themselves and their children.

Marx threw himself into the intellectual cauldron that Berlin was in the 1830s and became a member of the radical Doktorclub where the young Hegelians gathered. These young men, influenced by Hegel's philosophy, had nevertheless repudiated Hegel when he had gone over to the support of the semi-feudal Prussia of Frederick William II. Marx wrote his own doctorate thesis on the philosophy of Epicure and then looked for an academic post. But his political views ruined his chances, so he turned to journalism. He edited the *Rhineland Gazette* brilliantly until its incisive criticisms of the Russian Czar led the Russian government to intervene with the German administration to have the paper closed down in 1842.

His last years at the university and his experience of journalism gradually drew him away from the Young Hegelians. For him they had become an altogether too theoretical and well-to-do group of university people who talked philosophy that was so much hot air. Marx had come to the conclusion that social reform could be achieved only through turning to the masses of the people and harnessing their strength. In 1845 he was to write: 'All philosophers have done is to interpret the world in various ways; the thing that counts is to change it.'

By 1843 Marx was free from illusions about religion and from belief in philosophy. But he still thought that German social reform could come about through political action. Two factors drew him away from this position. The first was that he saw no hope that the

German liberals could force through a political revolution against Prussian feudal rule; the second was that this very hopelessness suggested to him that a more radical social change was possible, one that would transform not only government but society. By now Marx believed that the state and government simply reflected the kind of society they existed in.

Marx had come to Paris in 1842 when his paper closed down and there for the first time he really found out how working class people lived. He shared their squalid living quarters and was impressed by their wonderful spirit of fraternity. Marx himself was never a member of the working classes. And though he lived in poor areas most of his life it was on documents and on the experience of his life-long friend, Frederick Engels, that he was to nourish his knowledge of the condition of the masses. Engels had come to communism from his contact with the wretched English social conditions of the Industrial Revolution. But Engels himself belonged to the manufacturing capitalist class. And there is no small irony in the fact that Engels from his profits helped Marx until the end of the latter's life.

Marx was expelled from Paris in 1846 at the request of the Prussian ambassador. After a short stay in Brussels he went to London with his wife and there they lived for the rest of their lives.

Marx studied and wrote a great deal in the years between 1843 and 1848. Conscious of working class misery he had concluded that nothing would solve it except a relentless class war that would oust their capitalist exploiters. But more than that Marx was led by his historical researches to understand that an economic class struggle had characterised all periods of history. The difference was that now thanks to the organisation of an era of factories and the widespread use of industrial technique the exploited class would be able to achieve the final revolution. After that a classless society would be possible in which no further struggles would take place because exploitation would have ceased for good.

Marx and Engels were associated with the various attempts that were being made in England and the Continent to build up a workers' movement. They belonged first to the League of the Just and then to the Communist League that succeeded it. It was natural that the two brilliant young theorists should have been asked to draft the programme for the second Communist Congress held in London in 1848. The result was the *Communist Manifesto*, the document through which Marx has really made his impact on the working world. For every one reader who had read Capital over a thousand have read the *Manifesto*. And already the essentials of his teaching are to be found in this document of fifty pages that elaborates a theory of

history, analyses European society and propounds a programme for revolutionary action. Marx in the next thirty years would make far more detailed analyses of his dialectical materialism, theory of labour value and final state of class warfare in the Communist society. But never again would he write with the same fresh vigour and vision. Indeed those pages that have changed the course of our world's development still suggest the force of their initial impact. Here are some of his powerful statements:

On private property and communism: 'You are horrified at our intending to do away with private property. Yet in your existing society, private property is already done away with for nine-tenths of the population; its existence for the few is solely due to its nonexistence in the hands of those nine-tenths.'

The class struggle: 'The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another... a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.'

Communists as the élite: 'The communists are the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all the others.'

The new society: In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all,

Marx ends with a clarion call: 'The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all countries, unite!"

With the publication of the *Manifesto* Marx was well on his way to accomplishing his greatest result, namely, to make the impoverished working class conscious of itself as a *class* and as an exploited class. Before Marx poverty was regarded as an individual misfortune; after Marx it was *the exploitation of the masses.*

Between 1848 and 1870 Marx struggled to get his thought more and more into scientific form. He read all he could and did a great deal of economic research that culminated first in his *Critique of Political Economy* published in 1859 and later in his greatest work, *Capital*, the first volume of which appeared in 1867. Most days of

the week Marx could be found in the British Museum where he worked from ten o'clock until seven. But even as he wrote some inspired journalism and carried on his research he and Engels took part in most of the international attempts to organise workers. In this kind of work he was never really successful. By nature he was autocratic and could form no large band of followers though he had always a few devoted disciples. A young Russian intellectual, Annenkov, has left us a description of Marx that is of particular interest. He is telling of Marx's meeting in Brussels in 1846 with a well-known German working class leader, Weitling:

Marx, says Annenkov, is 'a type of man all compact of energy, force of character and unshakable conviction — a type who was highly remarkable in his outward appearance as well. With a thick black mane of hair, his hands all covered with hair and his coat buttoned up askew, he gave one the impression of a man who had the right and the power to command respect, even though his aspect and his behaviour might seem to be rather odd. His movements were awkward, but bold and self-assured; his manners violated all the social conventions. But they were proud and slightly contemptuous, and the metallic timbre of his voice was remarkably well adapted to the radical verdicts which he delivered on men and things. He never spoke at all except in judgments that brooked no denial and that were rendered even sharper, and rather disagreeable, by the harsh tone of everything he said. This note expressed his firm conviction of his mission to impress himself on men's minds, to dominate their wills, and to compel them to follow in his train.' Annenkov described the end of this meeting: 'These last words [of Weitling] made Marx lose his temper: enraged, he struck his fist on the table with such violence that he shook the lamp, and leaping up, he shouted: 'Ignorance has never helped anybody yet!' We followed his example, and stood up too.' When Annenkov had hastily said good-bye, Marx was still striding up and down the room.

All his life Marx struggled against two kinds of working class leaders, the anarchists and the unscientific socialists. He detested the anarchists of whom Bakunin was his chief enemy because their outlook, was purely destructive; they involved the working class movement in all kinds of mad schemes; and by their constant intriguing made coherent leadership and general solidarity impossible. Marx systematically purged his organisations of them. Indeed when he feared that the anarchists were going to capture the leadership of the first Communist International that had been founded in 1864, he managed to have a vote passed in favour of transferring the General Council to New York. This was to liquidate the International. One delegate remarked that it came to much the same thing as transferring it to the moon.

If Marx felt plagued by the anarchists, he ran into his biggest difficulties with a gifted and erratic genius, the German socialist leader, Ferdinand Lassalle. He and Marx had worked together from 1850 to 1862. Then they fell out. Modern socialism still bears the mark of their schism. Lassalle put his hopes in cooperatives and in reform of the state through the political organisation of the masses. For that reason he was prepared to work with Bismarck and to support the latter's political and military policy in return for social reforms. Marx detested this collaboration with a half-feudal, half-bourgeois government. He wanted a social revolution, not a social reform that like religion would simply serve to hide from the people the full hideousness of the way they were being exploited. Only later in his own life did he concede at all that the social revolution might come about in some countries through the masses constitutionally gaining control of the government. He never fully appreciated the gradual improvement in the conditions of the masses that was taking place around him in England during his lifetime. This kind of betterment and the gradual extension of the franchise have led to results such as the advanced social welfare state in Sweden that correspond more closely with Lassalle's views than with Marx's. Marx's somewhat rigid class stratification did not easily allow for certain subtle forms of social movement. He has categories that are adequate enough to describe Macmillan's bourgeois appeal to workers or Stalin's pursuit of industrialism at a terrible human price; his categories don't so easily hold Atlee and the Labour Party nor do they quite anticipate Nehru's socialist and humanist attempt to deal with India's underdevelopment.

While Marx was developing his views and taking part in the organisation and intrigues of the workers' associations, he and his family lived in the most abject poverty. He made some money from articles he wrote for newspapers. But he never held a job — indeed never made any attempt to get one — and his only steady source of income were the small amounts of money that his friend, Engels, sent him. Only in the last ten years of his life did he enjoy relative ease. But by then his health and his wife's had been hopelessly shattered and they had lost three of their six children, including their only son whose loss left Marx afflicted and bitter. One might single out various painful incidents in the course of these years. There was one happening in 1850, for example, when Jenny Marx and her four young children were put out of their house. She gives a pathetic account of it in a letter to a friend: 'The next day we had to leave the house. It was cold and rainy and dreary. My husband tried to find a place for us to live, but no one was willing to have us when we mentioned the four children. At last a friend came to our rescue, we paid, and I quickly sold

all my beds, in order to settle with the chemist, the baker, the butcher and the milkman, who had come wildly to present their bills. The beds which I had sold were taken out of doors and loaded on to a cart — and do you know what happened then? It was long after sunset by this time, and it is illegal in England to move furniture so late. The landlord produced the police and said that there might be some of his things among them, we might be escaping to a foreign country. In less than five minutes, there were two or three hundred people standing in front of our door, the whole Chelsea mob. The beds came back again — they could not be delivered until after sunrise the next day.' The following description of a police-spy also gives an insight into how the family lived:

'Marx lives in one of the worst, therefore one of the cheapest neighbourhoods in London. He occupies two rooms... There is not one clean or decent piece of furniture in either room, but everything is broken, tattered and torn, with thick dust over everything and the greatest untidiness everywhere. In the middle of the parlour there is a large old-fashioned table covered with oil-cloth. On it there are manuscripts, books and newspapers, as well as the children's toys, odds and ends from his wife's sewing-basket, cups with broken rims, dirty spoons, knives and forks, lamps, an ink-pot, some Dutch clay-pipes, tobacco ashes — all in a pile on the same table.

When you go into Marx's room, smoke and tobacco fumes make your eyes water to such an extent that for the first moment you seem to be groping about in a cavern, until you get used to it and manage to pick out certain objects in the haze. Everything is dirty and covered with dust, and sitting down is quite a dangerous business. Here is a chair with only three legs, then another, which happens to be whole, on which the children are playing at cooking. That is the one that is offered to the visitor, but the children's cooking is not removed, and if you sit down, you risk a pair of trousers. But all these things do not in the least embarrass Marx or his wife. You are received in the most friendly way and cordially offered pipes, tobacco and whatever else there may happen to be. Eventually a clever and interesting conversation arises which makes amends for all the domestic deficiencies, so that you find the discomfort bearable. You actually get used to the company, and find it interesting and original.'

However Marx went on writing and organising. But he was sorely disappointed at the poor reception given to his book, *Das Kapital*, when it appeared in 1867. In 1870 the Franco-Prussian war broke out. The German socialists of Lassalle's views immediately supported Bismarck. Bakunin and the anarchists declared against

the war and when they found that Marx was supporting the German side, they immediately accused him of nationalism. Marx's policy was more subtle than that. He wanted Louis Napoleon and his middle class-peasant rule overthrown. Once that had happened he opposed the advance of the Germans into France.

When the famous workers' revolt called the Commune of Paris started, Marx like everyone else was taken completely by surprise. The workers took over the city, set up a communist form of government and held out against the heavily armed troops. Marx realised that the revolt was hopeless and ill-advised. But once he understood that it was a genuine working class gesture of defiance and courage, he threw himself wholeheartedly into supporting the revolutionaries. It was the last decisive event in his life. And it was to influence him profoundly.

Earlier in his life despite his constant predictions that industrial over-production and under-employment would lead to an ultimate revolutionary victory of the proletariat, he had never described in detail what a communist society would look like. But when from 1871 on he offered an odd brief sketch of the final state of society — its condition after the state had withered away, the family had ceased to exist in any of its previous forms and the class war had been resolved into the peace of proletarian triumph — his descriptions suggested in broad outline something like the set-up under the Commune. His two works, the *Civil Wars in France* which was published in 1871 and the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* which was written in 1875 but published only in 1891, bear strong witness to this influence of the Commune on Marx.

But by now Marx was old and tired and sick. He set about finishing *Das Kapital*. Somehow his work didn't seem to make progress. The truth was that he hadn't the strength or courage left to put into shape the huge documentation that he still continued to amass. It was to be the faithful Engels who after Marx's death would bring out the later parts of the work. In his last years Marx had a certain material ease and he was receiving a growing international recognition. It is worth noting that some young Russian intellectuals had interested him in the possibilities of a socialist revolution in their country. Fifteen years before his death he learned Russian and he gathered a lot of information about the country. However it was all too late by then. Jenny Marx was dying in December of 1881, and he himself was ill. His daughter, Eleanor, wrote: 'I shall never forget the morning when he felt strong enough to go to Mother's room. It was as if they were young again — she a loving girl and he a loving young man, embarking on life together, and not an old man shattered by illness

and a dying old lady taking leave of one another for ever.' If Marx was hard and bitter in his socialism, he never let such sentiments enter into his family relations. Two years after his wife's death, in 1883, he died while he was writing at his desk.

It isn't easy to sum up this superb thinker's life and thought, or to find for them categories as precise and as capacious as he found for universal history. Perhaps there is something to be gained from stating some of the paradoxes of his achievement: this man who insisted on a materialist view of history and who inspired his own followers with a spiritual vision that has led them to all lengths of sacrifice; the critic of bourgeois family life who was in his home a loving father and who stood by his wife's respectability when she refused to receive Engels' mistress; the social theorist who held that the masses were being made more and more depraved but who foretold that at the moment of their greatest depravity they would rise up and exercise the highest virtues in a communist society; the leader who fought the cause of the labouring masses but who spent all his days at a writing desk; the thinker who spurned the role of philosophy but whose own philosophy has changed the course of the world; the research worker who foretold the breakdown of capitalism in the most advanced capitalist countries but who did not anticipate that the first revolution inspired by his teaching would take place in largely pre-capitalist Russia; the commentator on life who once told his daughters that his idea of happiness was struggle and who seems to remove all notion of struggle from his final state of society; the descendant of Jewish rabbis who rejected their religious faith but who breathed all the indignation of an Isaiah against the oppressors of the poor and who again like Isaiah foretold that a final reign of justice and peace would redeem the era of suffering.

There still remains the great puzzle about Marx's influence. How did he with his massive erudition and involved style make the tremendous impact he did make? There are several reasons. First of all, a small, determined and capable group of socialists were prepared to read and follow him. And he had great ideas to hand on to them, ideas that fitted in with the circumstances of the time. He taught them that all value came from labour and he fired them with indignation because the value was not going to those who produced it but to their oppressors, the bourgeoisie. He made it possible to link scientific thinking and moral fervour. Above all, he made the workers conscious of themselves as a class, and as an exploited and not simply an unfortunate class. His theory of class warfare helped further to ground working class solidarity and to unite workers in a common cause.

Lastly, Marx unlike some other socialist thinkers realistically accepted industrial society and its techniques and yet held out a carefully documented hope that its deficiencies would be transcended through the workers' revolution.

The measure of his greatness is that after him nothing could be quite the same again. The old history text books that told the story of the world in terms of kings and rulers and battles were out-of-date for ever. Men would look at things in a new way after Marx. He was indeed a bitter man and he introduced more bitterness into a world where enough existed already. He was insensitive to many things: religion, national values and middle class family virtues. But Marx is great enough to have his deficiencies acknowledged while we go on to incorporate his real contributions into a richer and wider vision of the world and of man than he possessed.

J. O'CONNELL, S.M.A.

Education:
Some Fundamental Problems

A.G. HUGHES and E.H. HUGHES

This new book by the authors of Learning and Teaching is designed to help students in training colleges to think about and discuss some of the perennial philosophical problems of education. It tries to show busy, practical-minded people that teaching technique and educational administration should be seen against a background of the problems of life in a troubled, changing world. The authors believe that the basic aim of education should be to help people grow in humanity and wisdom, and this is the main theme of their book.

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How to invigorate the African Parish

"500 Bells welcome Roman Synod." In an autograph letter published on Saturday 16th. Jan., 1960 Pope John described the Synod's aim... "that Christian customs may experience a salutary advancement, and that the discipline of clergy and people may correspond more to the necessities of our epoch and be *powerfully strengthened.*"

These days many voices are heard expressing the need and the desire for liturgical revival; that is, not for more liturgy, of which there is plenty, but rather for a way to open it to the people so that active participation may become more effective.

Balbulus in the July edition of this journal pointed to a "lifeless solemn" parish service, where the congregation as a whole no longer joins in the singing and where there are no longer any community prayers to join in. He hits the nail on the head when he shows what has caused this decline, and very deplorable it is, and he gives us a simple hint for a gradual revival of participation by the whole community. The private zeal of a few individuals, however good their intention, can inadvertently destroy what was good, and when the void becomes apparent, one has to admit, too late, that the zeal was misplaced.

Speaking about parishes being alive — after all the parish church must be the centre and dynamo of parish life — has it struck one how a parish church seems to lose its meaning, its raison d'etre, if, as frequently happens through sheer force of custom, benedictions, holy hours, days of exposition, etc. are being held regularly in private chapels, away from the parish church, for private communities, who, though they may be recognized by the Church as members of religious institutes, are nevertheless the laity? Such private ceremonies are usually closed to "outsiders". We all know of special church privileges awarded to various institutes, and of allowances granted to them by Ordinaries. But one feels that it could contribute greatly to the life of the parish if such communities would waive their privileges and hold these private devotions in the nearby parish church, for the benefit of the whole parish.

Four points immediately become apparent:

(1) The respective communities would not be deprived of their devotions, but would have them still, though less privately than before.

(2) The parish church would take on a more lively character.

(3) These devotions would no longer be hidden and unknown, but would become an open "exempla trahunt" for the parishioners.

(4) These devotions would gradually but surely draw other parishioners to come, and every one would then secretly agree that the parish had gained something.

The chapels referred to in this article are of course chapels on mission ground, near the parish church. These would include both Convent and College chapels. Let us weigh up the possible objections for what they are worth.

I. The Convent Chapels

(a) "It is too far"; that is, too far to the parish church. Is it really too far? This excuse, so often without foundation, is one that we must all have met on the lips of parishioners, boys and girls all singing the same tune even when they live within the distance that the Church has prescribed for the Sunday obligation. It would be wise to see those who have taught them to say so easily: "It is too far!" It is often not too far.

(b) "The people will not come all the same". This we do not know. We know that many come now who are not obliged to come. We know that, the whole year round the mission compound is crowded with youngsters, school boys, school girls and readers. *"The future of the country"* as they call them. To us they are *"The future of the Church"*. If these boys and girls knew: "There is benediction now in our church", or "there is Holy Hour now in our church", or "to-day is a day of exposition in our church", how many might pop in to the church of their own accord in between school; and perhaps some amongst them kneeling down, might have their secret thought; "I too would like to be a priest, (or brother, — or sister)". Who knows what blessings may be poured on desires expressed on such occasions and what benefit may result to the parish, to the Church.

(c) "But a benediction, a holy hour, a day of exposition in the parish church is not half as nice or devotional as in our own chapel". One had better leave the answer to this objection to the statement of our late Holy Father, Pope Pius XII, in his timely encyclical specially written for Africa: Fidei Donum. For the quotation please refer to the end of this article. If we conceded any value to this objection we should get no where at all; all attempts at a much needed readjustment of parish activity would be vain. One logical answer would be: "Then make the parish church nicer, make it more devotional". Let us go the whole way in this.

It should be the joy of every parishioner, if he has the strength, to have a hand in it, and, if he can afford to, to help to pay for it. After all, it is not our chapels but our parish church that should have precedence over everything, and if this were in fact carried out, how much more lively, more edifying,

more God-worthy our parish church would be.

(d) "But then our own chapel is no longer of any use." You have still got your many private prayers to be said in your chapel, which would then be what it is often called by the church herself, an oratorium, a room set aside for prayers.

To consider and weigh up the great service which can be rendered to the life of the parish through its parish church, is the sole aim of this paper, and to show that there is hardly any visible advantage to the parish community, when these chapels, standing right in the mission compounds, have private services and private devotions as they do now, forming, to use a now familiar phrase, an "apartheid of churches".

II. College-Chapels, School-Chapels

All the above would equally apply to college and school chapels, though these have to be viewed from yet another angle, their training value for the pupils themselves. All these young Catholics at their boarding schools, are members of the parish and should be encouraged and trained and given every opportunity to be most active participants in all that concerns the parish of which they are de facto members. They could and should be a cell of the greatest value for the life of the parish. Is it not teaching them: the "it is too far" idea, by saying that we must have a chapel of our own?

When pupils leave school they suddenly realise, what they should have learnt during their training, that all religious duties are not as easy as they were led to think whilst at school. They were not trained to this vital truth, which now in new surroundings, weighs on them rather heavily. They do not now find their easy college-chapel and they do not at once realise that they are now members of such or such a parish, real members because they are living in it. In any case they now face the question of a parish church that is almost certainly, "too far" by college or boarding school standards. The college chapel has caused a problem, not solved one. There are those who admit that the college chapel is a necessary evil. On closer examination "necessary evil" sounds terrifying.

But it simply is not necessary when it is next to the parish church. A college chapel is religion made easy, if that were possible, which it cannot be. For this one could quote plenty of assurances from our Lord Himself, which I can leave you to supply, adding to these from your own experience. Psychologically youth cannot be roused to enthusiasm for anything that is too easy. If you try you will meet only indifference, laziness and apathy. And it is these very things that stare us in the face; they are to be expected; and we have got them, even if there are the odd exceptions here and there. The young parish-

ioners should form the most inspiring, the most zealous and active asset to the parish church. The church should not and need not be empty on weekdays with a college next door full of parishioners. The boys and girls in our schools should be encouraged to take the leading part in parish activities. When special services are being staged, say a procession of the Blessed Sacrament or of our Lady, they should not be smiling but apathetic onlookers. They can and should be a manifestation of thorough parish life of the first rank and parishioners would begin to know their parish as a centre in which every member cooperates. Such a rich cell of Catholic activity as can be mustered in a college, could prepare a mystery play or a morality play, to be acted in front of their parish church, allowing a "shorter High mass" to precede it. A play on the Church, or, say, the play called "Everyman". Such a play would by itself make that day a true feast day for the whole parish, as was done in olden times when the Church was spreading in Europe and used such activities as these. It was these same people who were interested in the well-being of their parish churches, witness the beautiful cathedrals they built. It was not money that did it but generosity, interest, co-operation, from parishioners by parishioners. How in this country can we hope to make the church grow inwardly, unless by making the parish the focal point of religious life?

Possible objections to the elimination of College-Chapels.

(a) "But we have a chapel, so what are we going to do with it?"

Has such a question any weight in face of all that we have said of the necessity of readjustment towards a more realistic and therefore a less easy Catholic training? What was suggested in the case of Convent chapels applies here, though of course college pupils have not got all those extra prayers.

A boarding school next door to the parish church should not be a place of divine service but a place of education in its highest form, where pupils are trained to be, and given the means of being active parishioners. School prayers should resemble family prayers. The "home" part of school is the recreation room and the dormitory. This is where prayers should be said, as, let us hope, they will be said later on in life, — in the living room and the bedroom: the rosary together in the recreation hall, — prayers either privately or all together in the dormitory. The shortest possible prayers would give the best guarantee for forming a lifelong habit.

(b) "The parish church is too small".

On week-days the parish church is too big! — and the children from even three boarding schools would not fill it. But on Sundays and Feast Days? This is a problem that can be solved. In Europe, where, on Sundays even

the biggest church is too small for a large parish population, many of us have seen how they solve it. Five or six masses are said successively in the parish church and every parishioner gets to Mass in that church at the time of his choice. They have not got six curates, — neither have we. To have six priests would, of course, make things quite easy. So would an extension to the parish church. If owners of schools and colleges have, or can obtain funds for building, why not use them for an extension to the parish church instead of building another "apartheid" chapel? Or if the parish church needs repair or decoration why not contribute to its cost or help in a practical way in the actual work? This would have just that educational value and give just that lead that the parishes need.

It is easy to think and to say that that is the priest's job; but it is not true. It is for the priest to teach the Word of God. It is for the parishioners to support the priest and to help towards the upkeep of the parish church.

(c) "The time of the service in the parish church never fits in with the normal routine of daily work" i.e. the time table.

If Mass is all important, as we believe and teach, then it should have priority and be allowed to rule our time-table. If pupils were taught this at school they would be less likely later on in life to say that the first Mass is too early and the last Mass is too late, — and why can't the parish priest arrange things differently?

It may well be that some shrewd canonist will find a flaw in this script and argue that such and such a statement, however well meant for the great aim of invigorating parish life, is a flagrant contradiction of such and such a canon. Surely all that I have put forward is not denied by canon law? If it is so then the Church herself is stopping our progress.

Possibly it may be argued that one cannot force people, meaning in particular the religious communities, to give up the privileges they have received. This article never even suggests using force. On the contrary it aims at convincing everyone of the value of a voluntary waiving of privileges in order to bring about the enlivening, strengthening and invigorating of parish life, — too static as it is. Reactions in the minds of readers will be varied, but one would hope rather to see reactions than to hear them. Our journal is called "African" Ecclesiastical Review. Allow me to quote from "Fidei Donum" or "The Future of Africa" from His Holiness Pope Pius XII, of blessed memory (Sword of the Spirit Ed. page 13):

"The missionary spirit and the Catholic spirit are one and the same thing. Nothing is more harmful to her life than isolation, retiring into oneself, and all the forms of collective egoism which induce a particular Christian community to close itself up within itself".

C. v. BERKEL, M.H.

St. Augustine
Apostle and Contemplative

THAT St. Augustine was a contemplative, everybody knows. That he was also a very busy apostle, literally overwhelmed with work, is perhaps less known.

More than that, St. Augustine knew how to bring absorbing apostolic activity into perfect harmony with the highest contemplation. It is for us, missionaries, of the greatest practical importance to study this harmony between Augustine's apostolic activity and contemplation, or between his "action" and "prayer".

In this article we will first consider the greatest of Africa's bishops in his pastoral activity, secondly try to catch a glimpse of his contact with God. Then we will listen to what he himself says of the union between action and contemplation, to finish up with some practical conclusions.

His Pastoral Activity

To my knowledge, nobody, till now, has made a more brilliant study of this part of St. Augustine's life, than the professor of the Catholic University at Nijmegen, F. van der Meer, in his masterly work: "Augustinus de Zielzorger" (Augustine the Pastor) Utrecht 1947. In this whole first point I am most indebted to this book.

Possidius, Augustine's contemporary and first biographer, relates how the holy bishop, in spite of his heartfelt dislike of insignificant troubles, dutifully day in day out, morning and evening, held his court-sessions, seated between the notaries, in the secretarium of his cathedral, and allowed himself to be besieged by anybody who was in difficulties. And his people left him no peace. Were they worried about anything, they ran, ghastly pale, to the bishop's house even outside the fixed consultation hours. They asked for him, forced their way into his room, prostrated at his feet. "What is the matter?" he asked them. And they cried, "Libera me!" — "Of what?" Of that man that calumniates me!"— "What does he then want from you?" — "My Lord, I am so upset!" — "My Lord, I have to go to gaol; my Lord, have mercy on me and keep me out of it!" And others: "My slave ran away — My brother accused me falsely — My brother in-law wants to filch from me a legacy! — My small boy ran away!

My wife ran away with another wife's husband!" — They came with their doubts, their quarrels, their family troubles. They wanted to receive some consolation, sometimes only to complain, to pour out their heart, to give vent to their anger or simply to beg. And the bishop took the opportunity to confound the impudent swindlers, to redress twisted consciences, to extinguish numberless quarrels, to make all kinds of restitutions, to introduce as much as possible the morality code of the Sermon on the Mount, and,now and then, reports Possidius, to put sinners publicly to shame in order to inspire a salutary fear to others (1).

"It is simply awful," S. Augustine wrote to his friend Marcellinus, "all come to me with anything, and I cannot avoid them nor let them go away.." And even the holy bishop could not satisfy everyone. "Before the sentence — he once said in a sermon — both parties testify: 'We submit to the sentence. To go against it? Never! Judge as you think best; anathema if I protest!" But when, after the secret consultation, the doors of the secretarium are opened and the acts are read and the sentence pronounced, then somebody starts wildly raging against the judge. But what can I do? I cannot help deciding in one of the two opponents' favour. But if this one is rich, the other says: 'The bishop surely has accepted a gift.' On the contrary if he is poor, the other says: 'The bishop is doing so in order not to get a bad name among the poor? — Yes, there are who even should like to involve the bishop himself in their trickeries and equivocal contracts. There are who want to steal another man's estate and then come to us for asking advice. That happened to us, we are speaking from experience: because in itself it sounds incredible, even to us" (2).

Even as author he knew to condescend to illiterate people. He did for them what probably no one of his genius have ever done: now and then he renounced his own style to be better understood by simple readers. — He used to go without delay to the sick people who called for him, prayed with them and imposed upon them his hands (3).

Till the end of life he felt how heavily his vocation could weigh upon him. For some the episcopacy was a coveted dignity, for others an occasion of ostentation, for a few a mere administration, for one or other an attractive career, for him the greatest bishop of his time, it was a burden. "Sarcina episcopatus" was the expression which escaped continually from his lips during his sermons, even on the anniversary of his consecration. When he exhorted the monks not to pass their time in idleness, he surely did not lay heavy burdens upon others' shoulders without stirring a finger to lift them (Mt. 23, 4). He confessed to prefer the

(1) F.v.d.Meer, o.c. p.229 — (2) ib.p.230 — (3) ib. p.228.

manual work, the prayers and readings of a well regulated monastery life to being besieged, day in day out, by other people's worries. How much more would he have liked to contemplate the Verb than to preach it! Again and again he repeats in his letters to his friends, "I am so busy that I can't make even a few moments free."

But if he sensed its pressure, he believed and knew that the burden of the Lord was really to be light, and he continued cheerfully. And though he had no time and frequently had to dictate during night, nevertheless even in his mere writings he left us a proof of work-capacity and endurance which was second to none. Perhaps he too thought what his fellow-bishop Martin of Tours had thought his whole life and expressed when dying in the far-off Gaul: "Lord if Thy people is still in need of me, non recuso laborem!" (1)

His Contemplation of God

One cannot listen to the sincere accents of his gifted soul, confessing his intimate relations with God, without being deeply moved. One cannot be but impressed by God's condescension towards him and his humble acknowledgment of it.

"O eternal Truth and true Charity and lovely Eternity. Thou art my God, to Thee do I sigh day and night. When first I knew Thee, Thou didst raise me up, that I *might see there was somewhat for me to see*, though as yet I was not fit to see it. And Thou didst beat back my weak sight, darting Thy beams upon me vehemently, and I trembled with love and horror, and I found myself to be afar off in a region of no resemblance unto Thee." Confessions Bk.7, ch.10 in the translation of Sir Tobie Matthew, London 1948, p.161-62.

"Too late am I come to love Thee, O Thou Beauty, so ancient and withal so fresh; too late am I come to love Thee. And behold, Thou wert within me, and I without; and there made I search for Thee, and in a deformed manner I cast myself upon the things of Thy creation, which yet Thou hadst made fair. Thou wert with me indeed, but I remained not with Thee. Those things witheld me from Thee, which yet, if they had not their being in Thee, would not be at all. Thou didst call and cry out, and so didst break through my deafness. Thou didst shine forth and glow refulgent, and so didst chase away my blindness. Thou didsts breathe Thy fragrance upon me and I drew in my breath, yet do I pant after Thee. I tasted Thee, and still I hunger and thirst for more. Thou didst but touch me, and I do even burn with a desire to enjoy Thee" (2).

But his contemplation is that of an apostle. He does not seek contemplation for its own sweetness, but, while contemplating, he ever keeps in mind the needs of his brothers.

(1) F.v.d.Meer, o.c. p.25-26.

(2) Confessions, bk. 10, ch.27, page 266.

"This is the fruit of my confessing, not only what I have been but what I am; namely that I may confess it, not only before Thee, with a secret exultation yet with trembling, and with a secret sorrow yet with hope, but also in the hearing of men, who are Thy faithful children, the companions of my joy, the partners of my mortality my fellow citizens and fellow pilgrims, both such as are gone before me, such as follow after me, and such accompany me in this life. These are Thy servants, my brethren whom Thou appointed to be Thy sons; my masters whom Thou hast required me to serve, if I desire to live with Thee and of Thee" (1).

How Action and Contemplation are to be united

First the holy Doctor assigns to both, action and contemplation, their respective necessary place, nevertheless not hiding his preference for contemplation.

"One may not be so given to contemplation that he neglect the good of his neighbour, nor so far in love with action that he forget divine speculation. In contemplation one may not seek for idleness, but for truth; to benefit himself by the knowledge thereof and not to grudge to impart it to others. In action one may not aim at power or honour, because 'All under the sun is mere vanity' (2) but to compel us to go a mile with them, and with whom we have to go two form the work of a superior unto the true end, that is, unto the benefit and salvation of the subject."

"The love of truth requires a holy retiredness; and the necessity of charity a just employment, which, if it be not imposed upon us, we ought not to seek, but betake ourselves wholly to holy search after truth: but if we be called forth unto a position, the law and need of charity binds us to undertake it. Yet may we not for all this give over our first resolve of contemplation, lest we lose its sweetness, and be surcharged with the weight of the other" (3).

Not only he prefers contemplation to action but also recognizes that action may hinder his contact with God, his life of prayer.

"He complained more than once about the very alarming perplexities of other people's cases ('tumultuosissimas perplexitates causarum alienarum'). Even his life of prayer suffered from it. In a letter to Eudoxius and his monks on the island Capraria he confided to be envious of their monastic quiet, because it was much more restful, he said, in the middle of the roaring waves than in his parlour: 'Remember us in your prayers because you say them in a more awake and sober condition. Our prayers on the contrary, get wounded and weakened by the misty tumult of wordly

(1) Confessions, bk.10, ch.4
(2) Eccles. 1,23.
(3) De Civitate Dei, bk.19, ch. 19 in John Healey's Translation, edited by R.G.V. Tasker, London, 1950.

cares. Indeed, even if we ourselves are not troubled by them, those who miles (Mt. 5,41), submerges us with so many of those cares that we hardly can breathe. But we find consolation in the help of Him whose presence reaches the complaint of the captive' (Ps. 78,11). — 'Ever more preaching, disputing, correcting, being ready for everybody, he sighed, that is a heavy burden, a laborious work. If you consider freedom of cares, nobody likes it better than I. Because nothing is better, nothing is sweeter than scrutinizing the divine richess, far from any noise. But the Gospel deters me from it. Indeed I could object: for what use to bore people, to tell the wicked, Don't do this, — do this — stop doing that. Why would I feel responsible for others? It is the Gospel that compels me' (1).

Practical Conclusions

St. Augustine was overburdened with work. The very work which is a trial for so many a missionary nowadays. The heavy work of coping with others' daily cases and the cares of the pastoral ministry. For love of his brothers he sacrificed his deepest and dearest aspirations to contemplate God. So it happened that it took him 13 years to complete his "De Civitate Dei", the work which was nearest to his heart. When his friend Marcellinus pressed him again and again to bring this book to a conclusion, the saint answered: "What can I do? If I could show you the list of day and night-hours which I have to spend on other necessary work, then you would get sad and be astonished of the great number of cases which don't admit delay and which pull me by the sleeves. They prevent me from doing what you are pressing me to do by your instant prayers, and I myself would like it also very much, but at my unspeakable regret I can't" (2). He practised both, contemplation and apostolate, perfectly.

He did not give his time and talents to those troublesome cases by personal attraction, but only by love for God and the neighbour. He admits however that this absorbing external activity wounds and weakens his prayer, though he is consoled at the thought that the complaint of the captive reaches the presence of Him that helps him.

In other words, though he finds God in this activity, though he is sacrificing his time and dearest desires by love for God and his brothers, he affirms that this activity anyhow weakens and wounds his prayer.

What is it that makes S.Augustine find God in his actions? Not the actions themselves, even not when they are done by love for God and the souls. No, it is this love for God itself, this enthusiastic love which makes him find God in spite of any difficulties. And this love is the fruit of both, God's intense and intimate working upon his soul, and his personal contemplation. By con-

(1) F.v.d.Meer, o.c. p.236-37 — (2) ib. p.236.

templating God's beauty in His creation and redemption and by accepting eagerly God's mysterious acting upon him, he burns from an unsatiable love for God, from which no external activity can completely distract him, though anyhow it remains distracting.

But we must not think that, according to S.Augustine, any contemplation of God will have as result that ardent love for God and the neighbour. For him there is no real contemplation of God "unless one's heart is first made clean, that is to say, unless one first controls his thoughts and drains off from them all the drags of attachment to corruptible things." (1)

Such contemplation of God caused in him an unspeakable delight: "What shall I say are delights, what the enjoyment of the Supreme and True Goodness, what the everlasting peace it breathes upon us?" (2).

Now we understand better why for S. Augustine even when it is our duty of state to undertake external works of charity for the neighbour, we must not "give over our first resolve of contemplation, lest we lose its sweetness, and be surcharged with the weight of the other" (that is: that external activity) (3).

Again, S.Augustine did not seek contemplation to enjoy its sweetness, but to find God, to love Him ardently and in God the souls. He was ready to sacrifice that sweetness wherever the needs of his brothers required it. But at the same time he did not want to lose that sweetness of contemplation for fear of being surcharged with the weight of external activity. This sweetness, together with God's grace, kept him strong and enthusiast both for God and the souls, sustained him in carrying their burden, in carrying it for God.

Let us also so love God that this love moves us to sacrifice ourselves entirely for the neighbour. But let us remember that this love cannot persist nor, a fortiori, become more intense by mere external works of charity, but only by continual contemplation (under the ever needed influence of God's grace) of God's most inebriating amiability.

B. Surig, W.F.

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(1) De Quantitate Animæ, in the English translation of Joseph Colleran, "The Greatness of the Soul", in "The Ancient Christian Writers" Vol. IX, ch. 33, n.75. London, 1950.
(2) ib n.76.
(3) De Civitate Dei, bk. 19, ch.19.

Aims of the Holy Ghost Fathers

HOLY GHOST FATHERS have died in Africa and have been buried under the soil of this second-homeland at a total average rate of ten a year since the Venerable Father Libermann became the eleventh Superior General of this Congregation a little more than one hundred years ago. Were all of these men true to the aims of the Holy Ghost Fathers and to the spirit of Father Libermann? This is one way of formulating a very disturbing question raised by Father Adrian L. Van Kaam in his recent book on the life of Father Libermann (1). This same question was raised earlier by Father Koren in his history of the Holy Ghost Fathers (2).

The answer to this question, with its possible implications, is, no doubt, a matter of interest to everyone concerned with the evangelization of Africa. It is a matter of vital importance to some thirteen or fourteen hundred Holy Ghost Fathers spread throughout continental and insular Africa, not to mention those in other lands working among "abandoned peoples." What are the aims of the Holy Ghost Fathers? What is the spirit of Father Libermann?

Fathers Van Kaam and Koren have undertaken an impressive research project and have produced some rather elaborate arguments de-emphasizing the traditional missionary character of the Holy Ghost Fathers. They suggest a return to the aims of what they call "a teaching society", "a professorial society". Father Van Kaam laments at "how quickly" some of the early Holy Ghost Fathers "cast off the historic educational responsibilities of the Spiritans in favour of the more recent and glamorous enterprise in Africa. Would they never learn that the essence of success lay, not in spectacular courage and glamorous interest, but in seeking what God wants, what God had determined to be the historic mission of this society" (3).

Father Van Kaam thus proposes a thesis which may be found also, although spread out more thinly, in

(1) A LIGHT TO THE GENTILES, The Life Story of the Venerable Francis Libermann, by Adrian L. Van Kaam, C.S.Sp., Ph.D., Duquesne University, Pittsburgh, 1959, 312 pages.
(2) THE SPIRITANS, A History of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost, by Henry J. Koren, C.S.Sp., S.T.D., Duquesne University, Pittsburgh, 1958, 641 pages.
(3) Van Kaam, op. cit., p. 286.

the pages of Father Koren's book. It is clearly suggested and urged that the evangelization of infidels, especially those of the black race, is *not* the historic mission of the Holy Ghost Fathers, but merely a "more recent enterprise", "a fascinating endeavor", "romantic" and "spectacular". Contemporary opponents of this thesis are apt to be dismissed by Father Van Kaam and placed in the category of certain earlier Holy Ghost missionaries who "seem to have suffered from a sort of black race complex that led them to confine the Congregation's work to the Negroes and preferably the Negroes of Africa" (4).

Throughout the pages of their respective books Fathers Van Kaam and Koren insinuate their thesis, bolstering it with quotations apparently out of context and with laboriously contrived arguments. From the early and the late, the private and the public letters of Father Libermann sentences and phrases have been employed by both authors to bolster a point in their argument or to set up an occasion for private commentaries and novel interpretations. For example: On page 105 of his book where he speaks of the idea of an educational establishment for the German clergy, Father Van Kaam quotes from a letter of Father Libermann to Father Schwindenhammer thus: "As for Germany, I have to give up on that. It hurts, but what can I do? Our Lord has not judged me worthy of so great an enterprise." Father Van Kaam then makes a rather unique interpretation by immediately commenting: "For the founder of a missionary congregation to be sighing *regretfully* after educational endeavors might seem strange, were it not for the fact that, unknown to him, Providence had inspired him with strivings that would find their fulfilment only in the future when he and his men would enter the old Society of the Holy Ghost and become part of its academic tradition."

Father Koren in his book (pages 120 to 133) uses this same incident and letter to start a long and intricate series of maneuverings to justify certain types of non-missionary work. On page 124 he writes: "No doubt, more than one modern Spiritan will ask how all this can be reconciled with the general purpose of caring for the most abandoned souls... Father Libermann has not offered any explanation." After a few more pages of thesis-proving he states on page 128: "In addition to these educational and social works, he (Libermann) planned a 'house of diocesan missionaries' in Brittany... From all this we may infer that Father Libermann definitely did not consider the Congregation as a purely missionary institution..." Then, on page 130, in answer to his own formulated questions about non-missionary activities, Father Koren says: "On several occasions Father Libermann's... answers show

(4) Ib., p. 205.

clearly that he did not conceive of the congregation as a purely missionary society." Finally, on page 133 he makes the following remarks: "...it is important that there be no basic departure from the ultimate goal. When this happens, any group becomes disorganized... A clear statement of policy constitutes the best safeguard against such a debacle. Fortunately, Father Libermann left us one in unequivocal terms." From *no explanation* by Libermann (Koren, page 124), we arrive at *a definite inference* (Koren, page 128) which in turn becomes *clearly shown* (Koren, page 130) *in unequivocal terms* (Koren, page 133).

From the very beginning of his book Father Koren tries to suggest that the non-missionary activities are the historic aims of the Congregation. After presenting the fact that the very first work started by the Holy Ghost Fathers was a seminary especially for the training of missionaries, he tries to make the best of it with this statement on page 16: "The Congregation thus formed was a teaching society, and its educational activities were to be directed *for the most part* towards training priests for the domestic and foreign missions." *"For the most part"* is neatly tucked in apparently to suggest that there must have been some other part, or some intention to educate non-clerical students. However, from the beginning there is no evidence o any intention to undertake an kind of educational work othe than clerical and missionary, an this only is so far as it is directe towards abandoned works for whic the Church has difficulty in find ing apostolic labourers.

Father de Places' purpose i founding the Seminary of the Hol Ghost in 1703 is clear enough. Th historical records show how faith fully his successors followed hi purpose. Many of the early mis sionaries trained by the Holy Ghos Fathers were sent to the Far East Just forty years after its foundation this seminary became the exclusive recruiting centre, supplying all the missionaries for the French and Indian Missions in Quebec. As the Holy Ghost Fathers increased in numbers, we find that, seventy-two years after the foundation, members of the Congregation were staffing their own jurisdictions in the Missions — including Africa. Before Father Libermann came along the main work of the Holy Ghost Fathers consisted in supplying missionaries for all the French colonies. They were already training Africans for the priesthood, and had plans for the evangelization of all Africa. The specified aims of Father de Places were being fulfilled: the training of missionaries to undertake "the humble and difficult functions in the Church, for which it is difficult to find laborers" (5).

(5) Father de Places, quoted by Koren, op. cit., p. 15.

Father Libermann gave his dynamic spirit to the Holy Ghost Fathers when he became their Superior General, after merging his own missionary society with the older Congregation. Both societies had the same purpose which Libermann stated thus in a memorandum to the Propaganda: "The general plan of the society is to give and devote ourselves entirely to our Blessed Lord for the salvation of the people of the Negro race as being those who are the furthest from salvation and the most abandoned in the Church" (6). In a private letter to a future member of the society he put it thus: "Those to whose salvation *all our energies* must be directed are the poorest, most despised and most abandoned souls... We have found all these conditions realized in the people of the Negro race — or rather it is God Who has brought us together and interested us in their salvation because all the conditions are realized in them... If the time comes that they are no longer in these conditions, then we will turn elsewhere to labour for those who are" (7).

Although Fathers Van Kaam and Koren seem to see some fundamental differences between the aims of the older Congregation of the Holy Ghost and the younger Society of Libermann, no such differences are recognized by Libermann himself who wrote: "The union of our two societies has always appeared to me as being in line with God's will. The societies have the same purpose and work along the same lines. It is not in the order of Divine Providence to raise up two societies for a special work if one can suffice" (8).

Both Father Van Kaam and Father Koren try to make the most of the fact that Father Libermann's apostolic interests were very wide. For example: In chapter 22 of his book where he treats of the merging of the two societies, Father Van Kaam has this to say: "This long-standing and repeatedly thwarted desire was at last about to be fulfilled. The Congregation of the Holy Heart of Mary had served its purpose as the vehicle whereby his missionary and social aims might find expression. It now was to be dissolved into the Society of the Holy Ghost, there to blend its riches with the golden tradition of education that the Holy Ghost Fathers had stored up in the eighteenth century" (9). It is true, Father Libermann thought of more things than just the evangelization of infidels. Like all great apostolic minds, his was deeply disturbed. He thought much about the pressing social problems in Christian as well as pagan lands. He has even been termed by some,

(6) Libermann, quoted by B.J. Kelly C.S.Sp., THE SPIRITUAL TEACHING OF VEN. FRANCIS LIBERMANN, (Dublin, 1955), p. 191.
(7) Ibid.
(8) Koren, op. cit., p. 97.
(9) Van Kaam, op. cit., pp. 222, 223.

such as Father Leon Leloir of the White Fathers, "Another Paul", and rightly so. Like Saint Paul who wanted to return to the aid of the troubled Christians of Philippi, Libermann wished to aid the troubled Christians of Europe. Like Saint Paul who merely wrote to the Philippians without returning to them, Libermann merely wrote and talked about these European problems without turning his energies *fully* upon them (10). Like Saint Paul, he saw that the expansion of the Church and the evangelization of infidels was not only his special vocation, but the most urgent and essential mission of the Catholic Church. "The apostolic spirit", he wrote, "consists rather in extending the frontiers of the Church than in perfecting a small part" (11).

The apostolic spirit of Father Libermann is expressed in a memorandum which he sent to the Propaganda in 1846. In this memorandum he pleaded especially for the neglected Negro race, making suggestions towards the furthering of this apostolate by proposing a detailed procedure that would insure its vast numbers only. Missionaries must "consolidate the fruits of their labours by giving to those Christian communities the stability of an organized Church... It is certainly not enough to strike out at random with the intention of converting pagans. From the very beginning we should aim at achieving more substantial results and have specific ends in view. In order to do so, we will have to determine from the outset a system of procedures which in total reach and bearing will serve efficaciously to plant our holy religion forever in the soil. For this we need a carefully premeditated plan and a very powerful hierarchical organization" (12). Libermann also mentioned in this memorandum practical conclusions regarding native priests, schools, teachers, catechists, and even professional men. As Father Van Kaam says on page 201 of his book, "He even went so far as to propose that minor orders be conferred on catechists, although limiting their use of the clerical garb to times when they were exercising their ecclesiastical functions." The training of the young he considered most essential for the establishing of the roots of the Church deeply. He realized that the missionary's functions should not be purely spiritual, but reach to every field in order "to provide the most perfect civilization we are able to offer" (13). Truly, the apostolic and missionary aims of Father Libermann were very extensive and most embracing. It is through faithfulness to this

(10) This whole matter is treated very well in Chapter 12 of Father B.J. Kelly's excellent book already cited.

(11) Libermann, quoted by Koren, op. cit., p. 166.

(12) Libermann, quoted by Van Kaam, op. cit., p. 200.

(13) Libermann, quoted by Van Kaam, op. cit. p. 201.

apostolic spirit that the Holy Ghost Fathers have become, in the words Pope Pius XII, "one of the great missionary orders of our time" (14).

Clearly there is no intrinsic opposition between the evangelization of infidels and educational works, provided that the latter are specifically directed towards the fulfilment of the former. Education is an essential part of establishing the Church in mission lands, as Father Libermann himself impressed upon his missionaries. Even educational projects in the homeland may be regarded as works within the aims of the Congregation, as long as they are true sources of missionary vocations and of revenue. The Irish Province of the Holy Ghost Fathers offers an example of educational works in the homeland with a strictly missionary orientation.

All such works fit in with the Rules and Constitutions of the Congregation. The aims of the Holy Ghost Fathers, and of Father Libermann, have been clearly stated in these Rules and Constitutions. Constitution 2 states: "Its specific and distinctive aim is to undertake humble and toilsome ministry for which the Church less easily finds apostolic labourers, especially the evangelization of infidels, and in particular, of those of the black race. Apart from this, only such work as is expressly requested by the Holy See shall be accepted, and also, *by way of exception*, other work which is both useful to the Church and in keeping with the interests of the Congregation" (15).

A century after the death of Father Libermann, Pope Pius XII had this to say about the African Missions: "There is cause for serious concern in this. Specifically, will the sons of the Church understand their obligation to help the missionaries of the Gospel more effectively announce the saving truth to about 85 million Africans who are still attached to pagan beliefs, *before it is too late*?... More priests in a particular region would make it possible to plant the cross there *today*, while *tomorrow* this same land, tilled by other workers... will have probably become impervious to the true Faith" (16). Obviously, according to the words of the Holy Father himself, the Church is still having difficulty in finding apostolic laborers to work "for the evangelization of infidels, and in particular, of those of the black race". This plea of the Pope and of the Church concerns no one, if it does not first of all concern every living Holy Ghost Father.

STANLEY OTTO, C.S.Sp.

(14) Letter to Superior of Holy Ghost Fathers, 16th January, 1952.
(15) Constitution 2, No. 7, (1959 English Edition).
(16) Fidei Donum, Propagation of the Faith)New York, 1957), pp. 6, 8.

The Protestant - Catholic Scandal in Africa

Answer to Father Slevin

IT IS A BIT DISCONCERTING to say the least, to pick up a Catholic periodical and find yourself excoriated by name, and called, among many other things, misguided, irresponsible, maligning and unreasonable. It is more than disconcerting to find yourself accused by a fellow priest of "verging on near-heresy". Such was my experience on opening the April issue of the African Ecclesiastical Review, and seeing a reply to my previous article on the Protestant-Catholic Scandal in Africa.

But it was delightful none-the-less to find that there was enough interest in the subject to keep the discussion going. It was also delightful to realize that although charges of near-heresy were levelled they were never proved. Father Slevin early in his reply says,

> " I would venture to say that some of the points he (Father Donovan) makes verge on near-heresy, as I shall fully demonstrate in the course of this reply."

This is an ominous statement, and at the same time a rather ambitious one. My opponent promises to demolish me with strong proofs of my near-heresy. But in the end all he does is to put up, in place of proofs, his own opinions against mine. In his own words, his five point summary at the end of his article is a résumé of his reply, and must, I presume, contain the main thread of his argument. Yet, in that five point summary there is not the slightest indication of proof of *anything*. It is merely five different opinions of his, clearly stated as opinions, as is evident from the words used in that section such as "I agree", "I do not find it necessary", "I cannot agree", "does not suit" etc.. I ask my critic at this point to look at his own summary and see if this is not true.

But there are more specific charges in the body of the reply. In my original article I mentioned that Europe had the opportunity to become accustomed to one Church before it was faced with the spectacle of disruption while "Africa on the other hand... almost from the beginning has been confronted with a two or more headed Christian monster waiting to devour it". In referring to this Father Slevin writes,

"Since when have we Catholics received the license to refer to our own Church... as forming part of a monster?"

Why so much heat over something that is in the last analysis a literary matter? Certainly any Catholic is free to think of in the first place, and to refer to the spectacle of a divided Christianity as an abomination, a monstrosity—a monstrosity to the very degree to which it is divided. And if the spectacle of divided Christianity can appear as such even to us, what must it seem like (many headed creature that it is) to simple pagans who cannot distinguish the true head from the others? It was, moreover, the outlook of these pagans I was trying to capture.

As I say, I can scarcely take seriously this specific complaint. However, the sentence which follows this complaint requires a word of comment. Immediately after this criticism Father Slevin goes on:

"Or since when have the simple, unsophisticated Africans come to regard themselves as the victims of missionary monsters?"

In other words we jump from the impersonal spectacle of a divided Christianity to the very personal spectacle of real, specific missionaries being called monsters, and my opponent insinuates that I called them that. An unwary reader of Father Slevin's reply might think I did. I can say quite categorically that I never said any such thing, and I ask the impartial reader to verify that fact for himself. Taking something I did say, then enlarging it into something much more horrible and personal and shocking, *which I did not say*, and condemning me for the latter is a very effective way of arguing, but not, I submit, a very fair way.

Father Slevin has changed one of my original statements around, and accuses me of things I never said. In listing abuses from both sides in the Protestant-Catholic division, I *carefully* selected my words thus: "Protestant churches or schools burned down, social ostracization by Catholics; burning denunciation from pulpit, indoctrinated hatred, threats against the priest from the *Protestant* quarter". In attacking me for this he writes, not *quite* so carefully:

"I cannot recall a single instance of persecution, threat or indoctrinated hate against Protestants..."

My original statement says nothing about indoctrinated hate or threats against Protestants.

There are other charges such as that I would have us whittle down the doctrinal fullness of the Catholic Church, or neglect six of the seven Sacraments. A re-reading of my original article would show that there are no such proposals in it.

Father Slevin continues:

"What else but disillusionment and doctrinal confusion can result in the mind of the simple African Catholic if we tell him—as Father Donovan appears to suggest —

that he can discover a deeper appreciation of the truths of his Faith, by a study of specifically Protestant teachings?"

This is a most puzzling accusation. In the original article, in clear, unmistakable terms and context, it is *we Catholic priests,* not the simple African Catholic, who are said to be able *possibly* to learn something from the Protestant point of view.

Once again in criticizing me for saying that Martin Luther was a great man, my critic quotes the following words:

> 'It is an altogether one-sided view, one indeed which wilfully disregards the facts, to hail in Luther the man of the new age, the hero of enlightenment, and the creator of the modern spirit."

In answer I merely say that I called Luther a great man. I did not call him the man of the new age, the hero of enlightenment, or the creator of the modern spirit. The first time I ever saw such descriptions being applied to Luther — was in my critic's reply.

In short, I think it would have been more beneficial to the general discussion if Father Slevin had attacked me for what I actually said, not for what he thought I was going to say next.

As regards my using in the original article, the pronoun *"we"* in such phrases as "the damage *we* have done to the simple African, the unchristian feelings *we* have planted here" I was including of course both Protestant pastors and Catholic priests — as I think I clearly stated at the time. This was a humble effort of the most elementary kind towards fairness and charity. To change those phrases as my critic would apparently have me do, to "the damage *they* (the Protestants) have done to the simple African, the unchristian feelings *they* have planted here", and to change the title as my opponent actually suggests, to "The protestant Scandal in Africa", is such an unbelievably uncharitable and uncalled-for suggestion, that I leave the impartial reader to judge of its equity.

At this point I would urge my opponent to turn to the book review section of the African Ecclesiastical review, in the very April issue in which he attacks me so vehemently for my near-heresy, to read Father Adrian Hastings' "Practical Bookshelf" on Protestantism. In a very wise and quiet way, Father Hastings points out that Protestantism is one of the most useful subjects about which a priest can be informed. He states that perhaps the best way to get some knowledge on this subject is to read about it in books by Catholic authors and Protestant ones, and he gives some excellent references. He goes on to say that perhaps the only way to get some knowledge about local Protestantism, is to go to the Protestant mission and ask for it! He also mentions that the thing which strikes one nowadays is "the spread

of the Ecumenical movement, and even more of the Ecumenical spirit, with Christians of all denominations being really conscious of the tragedy of disunion, and trying hard in their different ways to bring it to an end."

It is the apparent lack of this Ecumenical spirit, so evident in my critic's reply, that is so disheartening. Such an attitude could spell the end to the Ecumenical spirit, and the Ecumenical movement.

To speak of the "Nigerian Solution", as Father Slevin does, and to describe this solution to the problem of the tragedy of disunion in such terms as *'to go it alone'* seems self-contradictory. And it appears most unfortunate, especially in a country like Nigeria — a country where the Catholic Church is strong, where Protestantism is strong, but neither one of them *separately* is strong enough to offset Islam — with the result that the adherents of Islam inevitably take over the most influential positions in the country.

My critic ends his reply with these words:

> "If there is hatred or division, we know that our Nigerian Catholics are not to blame. Martin Luther and his successors in the Protestant revolt may be responsible, but we leave their judgment to God. To God also we have left the rapprochement; and God has seen us through. Therefore in faith, hope and charity we have given our solution a trial. And it has worked."

I doubt if I have ever seen, in the pages of a Catholic periodical, a more complacent statement — at a time when there is so little room for complacency in Africa.

Father Slevin flatters me by taking issue with me personally for most of the thoughts expressed in my original article. Outside of my few humble and specific suggestions for attempts at union in Africa, his quarrel is not with me. His quarrel is with Pope John XXIII who envisioned the Ecumenical Council with Unity as its aim; and who urged us to look for common ground in dealing with our 'separated brethren'; his quarrel is with Father Karl Adam and other great German and Dutch theologians who have striven mightily to find the good in Protestantism and who admit the greatness of Luther in his own right; his quarrel is, I fear, with the whole Ecumenical movement.

Father Slevin does not see much use in our trying to find ways of fruitful dealings with Protestants. He does not see much hope that Protestants will ever cooperate with us, or that there is any future for the Ecumenical movement in Africa. God grant that he be wrong. God grant that this century may have the glorious privilege of being looked on one day, as the century which saw the beginning of the end of the scandal of disunion in Christianity, throughout the world.

VINCENT J. DONOVAN, C.S.Sp.

AT THE CLOSE of this discussion a few words of conclusion seem appropriate to restore the harmony. We would betray our mission as messengers of Christ and the fullness of his message if we did not manifest our concern for the scandalous state of division in African Christianity: scandalous, because the division of Christians is always scandalous.

About this principle there can be no discussion, but its practical implementation is more difficult. Yet implemented it needs must be, and if it is true that its full impact has not yet been grasped in many missionary quarters, then Fr. Donovan's forceful appeal was very opportune. This Review feels grateful to him for its whole tone, which was welcomed also in English, French and German periodicals.

As we have said, the practical application is more difficult, and it is always well to bear in mind the Holy Office Instruction of 20 December 1949. Certainly we have to steer clear of any suggestion of indifferentism — a special temptation for a young Church. And here there is full room for Fr. Slevin's warning. We must never leave non-Catholics in doubt as to our own Church principles. In the words of Weigel, 'Any Catholic ecumenist believes that the Church of Christ is Roman and papal; when he begins to doubt that, he is not of us.' For us, reunion means the acceptance of Catholicism by non-Catholic Christians.

The first and most important field for reunion work is that of prayer. May we appeal again to the clergy throughout Africa to observe the special January Octave of Prayer for Christian Unity, recalling Pope John's recent remarks: 'We gladly make our own the words of Pius XII expressing the wish that this practice be spread as widely as possible. In view of the forthcoming General Council we urgently invite the faithful of every race to join in this period of prayer.' We hope that the Octave prayers will be translated and printed on a large scale in the vernacular of every place.

Furthermore we would like to pass on the recent suggestion of *Englise Vivante* (no 6, 1959) that Catholic and Protestant missionary neighbours agree upon a weekly prayer for reunion to be recited on a fixed day in their own churches. Such a practice can have no danger of scandal attached to it, but it should be a real help in fostering more charitable relations.

The great thing is that we always remember that Protestant Christians, including Protestant missionaries, are our separated brethren, not our enemies. It would be indeed extraordinary if, in our day to day relations, there have not been faults upon both sides, and to admit this does not derogate from the Church's holiness or her unique claims. There is room too for collaboration in the social and cultural field: it may be difficult, but it

should certainly not be ruled out *a priori;* and though many may not agree with all of Fr. Donovan's proposals, they certainly deserve positive consideration.

Reunion will be the work of God, but — like all his works — it will come about with the cooperation of man.

EDITOR

Letters to the Editor

PITFALLS TO BE AVOIDED

Father Slevin's views on The Protestant-Catholic Scandal in Africa (A.E.R., April 1960), although differing sharply from those of Father Donovan, may cast more light on this very real problem. But his article shows rather dramatically some of the pitfalls to be avoided in discussions of this nature.

There is little possibility of fruitful discussion when one of the participants starts off by accusing another of 'verging on near-heresy'. This sort of thing emerges as a rather low form of polemics when, in fact, the accusation is not verified by theological demonstration, but merely insinuated through rhetorical questions attributing to Father Donovan thoughts which are clearly not contained in his writing. A careful re-reading of both articles is most revealing.

EDWARD KELLY, C.S.Sp.
MONDULI P.O., TANGANYIKA.

* * *

I am pleased to take this opportunity to express my sincere appreciation of the A.E.R. It is really a wonderful link between all of us, priests in Africa.

J.B., TANGANYIKA.

I had recently a letter from Sister Franciszka in Warsaw. So far she got eight books. One has no idea how glad people are over there with literature.

The books do arrive. This may be an extra incentive to search our bookshelves.

L. LINSSEN, M.H.
KERICHO P.O., KENYA.

Sister's address:
Biblioteka Wiedzy Religijnej,
J.E. Kardynala Wyszynskiego,
Piwna 9, Warszawa 40,
Poland.

* * *

If you are short of space, I would suggest not to publish in our journal articles that can easily be found elsewhere, including a papal encyclical.

JINJA, P.O. UGANDA A. ZUURE.

* * *

I am particularly grateful for the text of "Princeps Pastorum".

EMM. WANDERA,
FORT PORTAL, P.O., UGANDA.

* * *

I have read, with keen interest and great profit, every line of the four issues of the A.E.R.

J.M., MAURITIUS.

Roman Documents in 1959

ON THE DAY of his coronation, November 4th 1958, His Holiness Pope John XXIII told his audience that he wished to be, before anything else, the Pastor of the whole flock, in all evangelical meekness and humility. The first duty of Christ's Vicar on earth is to be the living image of the Good Shepherd, full of zeal and solicitude for all those entrusted to his care as well as for those as yet outside the true fold. That preoccupation is also shown in his first encyclical letter: "Ad Petri Cathedram" (June 29th 1959). This is essentially a a pastoral letter and outlines the programme of the new pontificate: "This threefold theme: truth, unity and peace, to be gained and developed in charity, will be the burden of our first encyclical letter to the world, for that seems to Us to be the chief demand of Our apostolic task at the present time." The Pope then explains how extremely important the love of truth is, of natural truth as well as revealed truth on which salvation depends. And how necessary is harmony among men, whether among nations or social classes or in the family! Before finishing with paternal exhortations to all the different ranks and groups of the Catholic community, the Pope insists on what is especially dear to his heart: unity in the Church as regards doctrine, government and worship; and he makes a moving appeal to our separated brethren to return to the true fold. Already long before, on January 25th, the closing day of the Church Unity Octave, the Holy Father had spoken about that unity so much desired and prayed for by Christ, but so unhappily broken by heresy and schism in the course of the centuries. That day, after reciting a beautiful prayer composed by himself for the Church of Silence, he explained to the Cardinals present his plan of apostolic action, both for his own diocese of Rome and for the universal Church. He announced the convocation of the Roman Synod — in the meantime already brought to a successful end — in view of the much needed adaptations, in pastoral activity, to present-day circumstances and conditions in the fast-expanding metropolis. He also told them of his decision to celebrate in the near future an Ecumenical Council, for the growth and development of the Catholic faith, for the renewal of Christian life among the faithful, for the modernisation of Church discipline, including a revision of the Code of Canon Law. This interior reform of the Church, this common manifestation of truth, unity and

charity, cannot but be a gentle, yet strong invitation, a challenge as it were, to our separated brethren to seek and find the reunion so universally desired. The preparation of an Ecumenical Council involves an enormous amount of hard and complicated work, but we may be sure that, given the zeal and dynamism which characterise the present Pope, it will not be very long before the second Vatican Council, as it is to be called, will be officially convoked. On Pentecost Day the Sovereign Pontiff nominated the ante-preparatory commission, to contact the Ordinaries on their views on the different subjects to be treated, and to sift the incoming information, and quite recently two secretariates and eleven commissions were set up for still more immediate preparation. The Holy Father has great hopes for the outcome of the Council with regard to the renewal of faith and Christian life inside the Church as well as for the healing of schism and heresy. But this reunion must not be misunderstood, as the Pope warned in an audience to pilgrims from Venice (March 17th); it can only be reached in the one, true and apostolic Church, whose unchanging doctrine on this point was already expressed by St. Ambrose: "Ubi Petrus, ibi Ecclesia."

One thing strikes us particularly in the pronouncements of the present Holy Father. Again and again he expresses his profound solicitude for the personal sanctification of priests and pastors of souls. This was the great preoccupation of his saintly predecessor and example at Venice and Rome, St. Pius X. The holiness of the clergy was the deep concern, too, of the late Pope Pius XII of whom we possess a posthumous address to be delivered to the staff and students of the Apulian Regional Seminary. In it the late Pope insisted strongly that the priest should always remain convinced of his sublime dignity and try to live up to his lofty ideals. He stressed again that interior holiness is the base of all priestly life and of all priestly activity as Christ's docile instrument, and he finally described the dangers to, and means of, perseverance in his vocation. Pope John takes up the same points in his encyclical: "Sacerdotii nostri primordia" (August 1st 1959). It is a plea for priestly holiness as evidenced in the life of the Curé d'Ars, on the occasion of whose centenary it was written. This important encyclical rightly deserves a place of honour next to the exhortations to priests of St. Pius X: "Hærent Animo", Pius XI: "Ad Catholici Sacerdotii", and Pius XII: "Menti nostræ". The first part of the document speaks of the fundamental necessity of priestly asceticism, the following of Christ, even to the practice of the evangelical counsels which, not only for religious, but also for the secular priest, are the safest way to perfection.

In the second part the Holy Father stresses the primary im-

portance for the priest of leading a life of prayer, and especially Eucharistic prayer. Prayer, a deep interior silence in union with God, must counteract the dangerous activism of our times, must inspire and elevate all his external activities and safeguard his salvation. The Pope recalls that the Eucharistic prayer in the full sense of the word is the Sacrifice of the Mass, where the Mystical Body of Christ which is the Church is built up in charity. The Holy Sacrifice must ever remain for the priest the principle and fount of his apostolic activity no less than of his personal sanctification and immolation.

In the third part the Pope describes pastoral zeal, the fruit of priestly ascetism and interior life of prayer. The priest must be filled with a deep sense of responsibility, especially as regards his eminently priestly work: preaching, catechising, hearing confessions and other forms of the ministry. He must always try to keep up the fervour of his charity towards God and the souls entrusted to him, never shrinking from any sacrifice on their behalf. And the Holy Father ends by exhorting the bishops to have special care of the sanctification of their clergy; he presses the faithful to pray much for their priests, and he invites young people to heed God's call, so that vocations to the priesthood may increase all over the world.

We might mention several occasions on which the Pope touched on the same subject. To the Italian Bishops he recalled the severity of Pope Pius XI in the selection of suitable candidates. He exhorted the members of the Clergy Union to be, before all, men of God, whose spiritual life is nourished by Holy Scripture and the Eucharist — "The priest stands between book and chalice", as teacher and minister of grace, abundantly drawing from those sources. He told the Lenten Preachers to be living witnesses of the divine teaching. And to a large group of seminarians he traced out a programme of spiritual formation to be realised at all cost: purity of heart, strength of character, fervour of charity.

On the occasion of the centenary of the death of the Curé d'Ars the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities also addressed a long letter to Ordinaries concerning the formation of their seminarians. The Holy Curé is shown there as a striking example of fidelity to grace. For him it was essential to live the priesthood which the Lord exercised through him as an instrument: personal sanctity was the secret of his success. He was a living example of filial love of the Church and of perfect obedience to his hierarchical superiors.

The Pope's third encyclical: "Grata Recordatio" (Sept. 26th) calls for prayer during the month of the Rosary: prayer for missionaries, for leaders of nations, for the Roman Synod and the Ecumenical Council. The Pope

again shows here his profound devotion to Our Lady, as he had already done in the allocutions on the occasion of the closing of the Lourdes Centenary celebrations.

A most important document was in all respects the Encyclical on the Missions: "Princeps Pastorum" (November 28th) which was already given in the April issue of this Review.

We might mention here some new beautiful prayers enriched with indulgences: a prayer to the Holy Spirit for the Ecumenical Council, a prayer of seminarians for their parents, a prayer for newly formed Christian Communities — composed by the Pope himself —, a prayer for motorists. On March 19th, the Capuchin apostle and writer, St. Lawrence of Brindisi (1559-1619) was declared a Doctor of the Church and his feast is now to be kept on July 21st.

To the Spanish Catholic Teachers' Association (July 20th) the Holy Father stressed the importance of their high vocation: teachers must not be mere channels of instruction, but true educators of the mind. Theirs is a social function, in collaboration with the families and legitimate authorities. Their lofty task requires constant application, exemplary conduct and continual contact with God, Who alone gives the grace necessary to crown their efforts with success. On another occasion the Holy Father insisted upon the important mission of the Catholic Press and the duty of all to promote it. As regards the freedom of the Press, there are obligatory limits, imposed by truth and charity, and the Pope issued a solemn warning not to sin by omission, but to fight energetically against evil publications. Lastly, on October 28th, the Holy Father announced that the programme of the second year of his pontificate would be inspired by the "Pater Noster" and the hope of the realisation of what is asked for in that beautiful prayer taught us by Christ himself.

E. DE B.

A.E.R. accepts Advertisements

We would appreciate the cooperation of our readers who through means of their personal relations could supply us with advertisements.

In this way we hope to increase the volume of our review and eventually make it a bi-monthly. EDITOR.

NEWS IN BRIEF

African Archbishops and Bishops

His Holiness Pope John XXIII has appointed:

His Grace Paul Zungrana, W.F., Archbishop of Wagadugu (Mali).
His Grace Jerome Rakotomala, Archbishop of Tananarive (Madagascar).

His Grace Bernard Yago, Archbishop of Abidjan (Ivory Coast).
His Lordship Peter Poreku Dery, Bishop of Wa (N.W. Ghana).
His Lordship Joseph Busimba, Bishop of Goma (Kivu, Congo).
His Lordship Fr. X. Rajaonarivo, Bishop of Miarinarivo (Madagascar).

Courses for non-Catholics

To obviate a growing need two centres exist which organise instruction on Catholic doctrine by correspondence. They are:

for East Africa:

The Catholic Enquiry Centre, P.O. Box 14600, NAIROBI, Kenya.

for South Africa:

Katolieke Inligtingsburo, P.O. Box 10055, Johannesburg, S. Africa. This publishes a course of 15 lessons in Afrikaans. Both courses are organised free of charge for any non-Catholic who applies.

Social Institute in Rome

The Pontifical Gregorian University has just published the program of its newly re-organized Institute of Social Sciences. Founded in 1951, the Institute presently numbers some 100 priest-students coming from many countries of the world.

After ten years of experiment the new program now provides specialization in sociology or in economics, thereby permitting its students to intensify their knowledge of a specific branch of social science while continuing to pursue the Institute's general social studies.

Twenty Jesuit priests, specially trained in the social sciences at both American and European Universities, have been brought to Rome to implement the Gregorian's social program. Four of this faculty are Americans; the rest, while coming from eight other ccuntries, are English-speaking.

Other features of the re-organized program are the following.

Special effort has gone into the devising of programs which will meet the varying needs of those who expect to teach and those who will engage directly in social action programs. To meet the popular demand for religious sociology a program in that most recent branch of sociology is now in operation, leading to the doctorate. For students who in their own countries confront Communist subversion, courses are provided in Marxist social theory and in present-day Socialist economics. Courses on economic development are similarly provided for those who will return to meet the problems involved in emergence from poverty and economic backwardness.

The hall-mark of this Institute, approved by the Sacred Congregation for Seminaries and Universities, remains an intensive study of the Church's social doctrine with adequate attention given to recent applications.

Three degrees are offered: the Baccalaureate, the Master's and the Doctorate. Published dissertations in the Institute's collection of social studies have been favorably received by critics. They include studies of family income, the European Common Market, parish and diocesan religious surveys, social programs of unions, cooperatives and land reform in various countries.

Though only ten years old, the Institute has received warm encouragement from bishops in various parts of the world for the service its alumni are now providing in the staffing of seminaries, university faculties and social centres.

THE DECIDING FACTOR today is not organization and proselytising, not appeals and furious activity, but first and above all the *renewal of the consciousness of faith.* It is a renewal of the old power, of the old ardour, as Christianity once possessed it, when without external help it was victorious over a pagan world. That is the reason today — and of course it is nearing the eleventh hour — for the working of such a renewal, for a genuine regeneration out of the powers which lie hidden in the Church and in her past.

J. JUNGMANN, S.J.

BOOK REVIEW

FAITH AND FACT BOOKS

Some time ago, a series of books, 150 in all, were published by Fayard of Paris, under the title: "Je sais, Je crois". Its purpose was to show that the teachings of the Church and the facts brought to light by scientific discovery are in no way irreconciliable; and to examine all the knowledge which has come into the possession of man, in the light of Catholic teaching.

Now these volumes are being published in English translation by Burns and Oates of London. Let no one be put off by the word, volume; and the fact that there are 150 of them, under the impression that these are only for adorning the libraries of the wealthy and erudite. Volume is perhaps too ambitious a word, for they measure only 7½ by 5 inches and they vary in length from approximately 130 to 150 pages. If ever, there was "multum in parvo" here it is.

These books are appearing at the rate of two a month (the first two appeared in November, 1958) until the series is finished. Each volume costs about 8/-, a price surely which cannot be said to be a strain on the pocket, even of those of us who are completely down on our uppers. Moreover, they are attractively bound in brightly coloured boards and the typography leaves nothing to be desired.

The series is to be grouped in sections of which the following are some examples: *Knowledge and Faith; The Means of Redemption; The Church and the Modern World; Catholicism and the Arts; Separated Brethren.* Perhaps that will be sufficient to whet the appetite.

Each of the books has been written by a well-known scholar. The very first one entitled: "What is the Bible" has as its author no less a person than Daniel Rops, surely a sufficient guarantee for the scholarship and learning behind this series.

Here then, is a unique opportunity for building up a library, which will widen and deepen one's knowledge of the faith and give us the teachings of the Church on subjects as diverse as: the origins of life; nuclear physics; the Bible and its critics; art; psychical phenomena; and a host of other questions too numerous to mention here.

Finally, the publishers deserve to be congratulated on the presentation of these books, the sight and feel of which gives pleasure to eye and hand; and it is to be hoped that this venture will meet with the success that it richly merits.

B.D.

Mgr. L.J. Suenens: MARY, THE MOTHER OF GOD, Faith and Fact Books N. 44.

Mgr. Suenens admirably and clearly exposes GOD's view on Our Lady and the role He destined her for in His plan of salvation. Without losing himself in theological discussions the author presents a clear survey of the conclusions reached by present-day theology, explaining the exact meaning of Mary's mediation, co-extensive with redemption, not between Christ and us, but in and by Christ between God and us. Every page of this book has been written with fervent love for the Holy Mother, but also with balanced judgment, warning at various places against exaggerated expressions and comparisons.

From the doctrine of the Assumption we are shown the Church's attitude of Christian respect for the body and our attention is drawn to the Church triumphant, the Parousia. And to make this book still more practical it concludes by two chapters on union with Christ in Mary and on the impact devotion to Our Lady has on the apostolate of our times and on the spirituality of marriage.

This is an inspiring book, dealing with points of Mariology hardly touched upon by many far more extensive books on our heavenly Mother. We warmly recommend it, because it provides thoughts for personal meditation as well as matter for preaching on Our Lady in such a way as to make the doctrine live and bear fruit in the every-day life of our faithful.

W.K.

George H. Tavard: PROTESTANTISM, 139 pp.; *Paul Auvray, Pierre Poulain, Albert Blaise*: THE SACRED LANGUAGES, 173 pp.; Burns Oates, Faith and Fact Books, 8/6 each.

The first book, mentioned in last number's practical bookshelf, has since arrived and fully comes up to expectations. It is a brief but well-rounded survey of Protestantism — historical, theological, geographical — by a recognised authority on the subject; as a guidebook in this field it can be fully recommended.

The second book is about the languages which, for one reason or another, we may hold as sacred — Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek and Latin. Latin masters may well be interested in the chapters discussing the special characteristics of Christian Latin — the Latin of the Fathers and the liturgy. Here too is encouragement for anyone who is thinking of studying Hebrew. Fr. Auvray insists that it is a most easy language, 'incomparably easier than Greek or Latin'. I confess to being not wholly convinced, but then I am perhaps prejudiced having only studied Hebrew for seven months, with a textbook in Latin, a venerable Lebanese bishop as teacher, and Italian as the medium of instruction, a tongue which I then knew little better than Hebrew!

ADRIAN HASTINGS.

F.C. Copleston:
"AQUINAS"
Pelican ed, Price 3/50.

For any one who would like to brush up his mind on real cardinal philosophical and moral issues, other than in a hard and dry textbook, here is

some fine reading indeed and in a language of such simplicity and clarity, one would call it a bed-side book. It deals with such themes as: World and metaphysics; God – Creation; The Soul of man and his body; Morality and Society. This is truly fundamental Thomism for to-day, lucidly explained, with which possibly erroneous or doubtful ideas can be set right. As the author states, Aquinas was far ahead of his time, and looked upon as an innovator, but he influences minds of men to-day more than ever before.

In its genre one could hardly meet with another book of such profound ideas in such simple language for so little money. A book that deserves to be a handy companion also for our African students, both major seminarians and students at higher colleges.

C.V.B.

THE CHURCH AND THE NATIONS, edited by *Father Adrian Hastings*, Sheed and Ward, London, 1959, pp. XXii, 238, price 21/-.

Minority Catholicism, lived against a pagan, neo–pagan or Protestant background, has its particular perils and even its particular helps. Tried by fire, the minority Catholic can unwittingly adopt a superior attitude to countries traditionally called Catholic. But he can never forget his own isolation, never forget his perils from indifferentism or apostasy, his failure, part or total, to integrate his message with the culture of the land that is his by birth or vocation.

This book provides studies of minority Catholicism in fourteen countries: India, England, Norway, America, Lebanon, Australia, Wales, Japan, Holland, Vietnam, Brazil, Egypt, Southern Africa and the Lele of the Congo. Each contributor sets down his information and his thesis plainly and objectively and these contributors certainly are competent men. However did the Editor, Father Hastings, manage to lay his hands on an international team such as this? His own contribution, twelve pages by way of introduction, is shot with light. He has seized the philosophy of history, and like his team of fourteen bold men (one of the boldest being a lady, bless her) he bases past failures and present problems and ventures constructive suggestion — Europe in one obvious sense, is not the Faith, the practical intellectual failure of Catholicism seems universal, the law of the apostolate is integration and we cannot fear its bitter message of separation.

The missionary, perhaps, will turn first to Japan, India, Vietnam and the Lele of the Congo. Your present reviewer thought he knew a handful of facts about the pusillissimus grex in Japan, having diffused knowledge about it, but it came to him with shock as he read Mr. Kobayashi's lines that Japan has only twice as many major seminarists as Katigondo Seminary in Uganda.

This book could hardly be omitted from the missionary section of any adequate Catholic library.

JOSEPH MULLIN

CUM PERMISSU SUPERIORUM